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LETTERS

defend the conspiracy

DEAR SIRS: The federal indictment in Chicago of eight political dissenters for conspiracy to promote disorder and riot during the week of the Democratic National Convention [see page 752] is one of the most ominous challenges to political liberty since the passing of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy. It calls for a clear and considered response from all who believe that the preservation of political dissent is now, more than ever, crucial to the survival of democratic process in America.

The undersigned have formed a Committee to Defend the Conspiracy. Through newspaper ads and mailings we intend to raise funds urgently needed for the legal defense of these eight men and to clarify the critical political and civil libertarian issues at stake. We are now organizing a larger group of sponsors for a national campaign.

We appeal to readers of *The Nation* to support this effort by contributing toward the cost of the initial advertisements. This is the only effort of this sort that has been undertaken; the need for financial support is immediate.

Checks should be made out to Chicago Defense Fund and mailed to Committee to Defend the Conspiracy, 28 East Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 60604.

Peter Babcox	Norman Mailer
Noam Chomsky	Conor Cruise O'Brien
Edgar Friedenberg	Susan Sontag
Michael Harrington	Benjamin Spock
Christopher Lasch	I. F. Stone
Dwight Macdonald	and others

saved by an edit

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: I subscribe to *The New Republic, The Nation, Atlantic, The New York Review of Books, The Catholic World, America, Commonweal, The National Catholic Reporter, Center* magazine, *Transaction*, and a number of other publications, plus write for *America, Catholic World* and *Commonweal*. So, if you'll forgive me, I had decided to let my *Nation* subscription go. Then I read your editorial, "The American Disease" [May 26]. I'm afraid I can't do without a publication that analyzes a complex moral and social situation with such courage and such truth.

Raymond A. Schroth, S. J., Georgetown University

Bloomington, Ind.

DEAR SIRS: The lead editorial in the issue of May 26, 1969 was magnificent. I sent it on to a prestigious teacher at the University of Indiana who has hitherto concerned himself not with the "American Disease" but what he thinks is the disease. *The Nation*'s analysis of the Fortas affair should put him right. . . .

Harry A. White

incidence of crisis

New York City

DEAR SIRS: You have again published an article of tremendous portent. Michael Tanzer's "Out on the Credit Limb," [June 2] is a rouser. . . . I see additional implications in intangibles he has not mentioned, such as numerous ex-soldiers returning to find no jobs or houses ready for them, in some instances because they are black and others because they have been snatched prematurely away from preparatory schooling; the psychological aspects of soldiers returning from a very unpopular war, to find they are not heroes after the first welcome shouts; the increasing hostility and job competition among marginal white workers and aspiring blacks who may shoot one an-

(Continued on page 764)

EDITORIALS

PR Diplomacy

One must have sympathy for Nelson Rockefeller, exposed for no valid reason to the hostility of outraged Latin Americans and affronted by governmental requests to stay away. His name may have an unfortunate resonance in Latin America just now, what with disputes over oil and other natural resources, but that is beside the point. Unlike Richard M. Nixon, who stirred up similar resentment on a Vice Presidential visit, Governor Rockefeller is an expert on Latin American problems, is remembered for his efforts as Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and has many friends and well-wishers in the countries he visited, or tried to visit. The difficulty is not with the emissary: it is with the whole concept of the mission, including its timing. It is hard to understand why President Nixon sent Mr. Rockefeller on this "fact-finding" tour, and even harder to understand why Mr. Rockefeller consented to go.

One adverse circumstance, while no doubt of secondary importance, is of the President's own making. Most of the rioters were students. Only a short time ago Mr. Nixon delivered himself of a dictum that Latin universities were among "the most inferior in the world" because too much power had been given to the students. This generalization suited Mr. Nixon's purpose at the moment, namely, to try to allay the tumult on American campuses, but it certainly was not calculated to smooth the path of Mr. Rockefeller or any other Presidential ambassador who ventured into the region.

In other respects also the timing was unfortunate. Relations between the United States and Ecuador, and between the United States and Peru, could hardly be worse. Ecuador insists on a 200-mile territorial limit offshore and seizes American fishing boats that operate within the waters it claims. Peru is hostile to American-owned corporations within its borders, has nationalized the International Petroleum Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) and is in a dispute with the United States over arms sales Colombia is aggrieved over American restrictions or coffee and other Colombian exports. Other complaints abound. Mr. Nixon may have felt that something had to be done to ease these tensions; apparently he did not reckon with the possibility that they might be made worse.

Another difficulty is basic in the region. Most of Latin America is today in the hands of the military thanks in no small measure to our improvident and militaristic policies. Therefore, a vast amount of unrest and disaffection normally cannot surface. The students especially, resent both their native dictators and the Yankees. The arrival of an American emissary gives them a chance to vent their hostility in both directions

What was the need of the mission in the first place? Don't we have a diplomatic corps in Latin America? Aren't the facts already known? Alighting from his airplane at the Quito airport, Rockefeller practically ad

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mitted he had no specific reason for going there. "I bring no new program," he said, "no easy remedies or simple slogans." All he brought, really, was his charming wife and a large entourage of specialists and advisers. *Promises, Promises*, is the name of a current musical comedy in New York. Rockefeller did not even bring promises.

If it was Mr. Nixon's plan to use Mr. Rockefeller as a stopgap, until he himself could solve more urgent problems, such as Vietnam, and then proceed to ameliorate the ills of Latin America, he misconceived the situation. But Mr. Rockefeller blundered too. When he found himself kicked around, he ascribed his difficulties to organized forces directed from "inside and outside the hemisphere"—that is to say, Havana, Moscow and Peking. This banal nonsense was promptly knocked down by Galo Plaza, Secretary General of the Organization of American States and Mr. Rockefeller's good friend. Mr. Plaza had breakfast with Mr. Rockefeller and his advisers in Trinidad and told them plainly that the student demonstrations that had disrupted the mission could not be ascribed simply to Communist agitators. "There is a genuine national resentment that doesn't need much outside influence," Mr. Plaza said. And "There is a deep feeling throughout Latin America at all levels of society that relations with the United States need a change." What the Latin Americans want was well known before Mr. Rockefeller flew down to find out. They want more U.S. aid, they want aid without strings, they want control over their own resources, better prices for their exports, and a better bargaining position vis-à-vis the American corporations that operate in their countries.

After giving up his Red conspiracy theory, Mr. Rockefeller indicated that he did not mind being a lightning rod for Latin American discontent. The analogy could hardly be worse conceived. A badly designed or inadequate lightning rod installation is worse than none at all. Moreover, lightning is a momentary threat, while Latin American hostility to the United States is a constant force which is in no wise diminished by public relations gimmicks.

The remaining Rockefeller schedule of visits to the region should be called off, at least for the present. It is better to admit failure than to persist in it. If Mr. Rockefeller insists on going to Argentina, Chile and other countries, he is taking physical risks without any hope of compensating gains. So far he has only exacerbated an already bad situation. It is a time for reflection, not for a repetition of blunders.

Warning from Berkeley

As reported in most of the Eastern press, the latest incident at Berkeley hardly seems to merit excitement. After all, the casual reader might say to himself, brawls on that campus are old stuff. Unruly students and associated "street people" seized university property for a "people's park" and the authorities had no choice but to oust them. Maybe it will teach those characters a lesson.

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Actually what happened at Berkeley was a carefully planned crackdown for which Governor Reagan and the increasingly reactionary board of regents of the University of California mobilized the police forces of the Bay Area and 2,500 troops of the National Guard. The law-enforcement agencies, whether on instigation from above or on their own initiative, went into action with the ferocity of storm troopers. About a thousand students were arrested and many were manhandled. A bystander was killed by gunfire. The Guardsmen were bivouacked on and near the campus for weeks, manned machine-gun emplacements, and maneuvered in heavy weapons-carriers, exactly as if they were repelling a foreign invader. The police were decked out in helmets and flak jackets and carried shotguns as well as pistols. A particularly virulent form of tear gas was sprayed from a helicopter and enveloped the university hospital and classroom buildings as well as the demonstrators.

The climax was not reached, however, until 400 people, including some who had nothing to do with the demonstrations, were trapped in a dragnet on a downtown Berkeley street and carried away to the Alameda County detention farm at Santa Rita, a so-called rehabilitation center, where they were subjected to treatment which would be regarded by many as incredible if it had not happened that a *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter, Tim Findley, was among those arrested. Whether this was accidental, or calculated on Findley's part, makes no difference. He saw what he saw. His story, "I Was a Prisoner at Santa Rita," in the May 24 *Chronicle*, should convince the most complacent that comparisons between Germany in the period of Hitler's rise to power, and the current situation at Berkeley and elsewhere in the United States, are not as farfetched as they seemed a few years ago. If the social fabric continues to unravel at the present pace, anything can happen.

Arriving at Santa Rita in buses, the 400 prisoners were forced to lie down on their bellies in a graveled asphalt compound, hands at their sides. Findley quotes the commands: "Get down on your face—turn your head to the left and line up on the man to your left's head—your left, stupid. Now get your hands down at your sides. Don't move, don't talk!" And: "Any of you creeps got a camera, put it down in front of your head! We find a camera later and we smash it and your head at the same time!"

The prisoners were forced to lie in this position for two and a half hours, after which they were allowed to sit up for another hour while a guard shouted threats: "Don't none of you move—we shoot to kill here." Verbal abuse was supplemented by sharp raps with riot sticks. A young man spread-eagled against a wall glanced back at the guard who was searching him. "What the hell are you looking at, you son of a bitch?" the guard shouted, and jabbed the prisoner in the back. There were repeated references to the Army and to the draft, such as "Wait till the boys get home from Vietnam and handle you creeps!"

This type of conduct is to be distinguished from police brutality of the Chicago convention type. The Chicago police used excessive force, but Mayor Daley had at least the excuse that they "overreacted" in the heat of combat. The barbarities of Santa Rita were inflicted on prisoners in custody, helpless to retaliate. The intention was to cow and coerce men whom the guards, most of them in their mid 20s, hated for their superior education and their political views.

The *Chronicle* writes editorially that "the entire disgraceful affair is . . . remindful of Cossack and SS conduct earlier and elsewhere," and calls for a full investigation by federal authorities. If there is an investigation, it is likely to be perfunctory. The general situation in the United States is deteriorating rapidly. There is no longer much point in calling the behavior of the guardians of law and order "shocking" or "outrageous" or "barbarous." It is all of these, but its importance is as a signal, a warning of what is to come. Not to heed it would be the misjudgment of the century.

The Senate's Responsibility

Washington

"The continuance of our involvement in Vietnam is a responsibility which the Senate shares with the President." So spoke Majority Leader Mike Mansfield on the floor of the Senate on May 29. It is the simple truth, but to date the Senate has not displayed a recognition of it.

It is also perhaps the first time that the Majority Leader has so pointedly spoken out. Mansfield, who from the beginning of our involvement in Southeast Asia has probably been the best-informed member of Congress on the subject, has not been happy about our policies there. But as Majority Leader under a Democratic administration he felt that there were limits to the expression of his dissent.

But when the administration changed and he remained Majority Leader, one may surmise that Senator Mansfield waited hopefully to see whether President Nixon's campaign promises that he would get us out of Vietnam and end the war would materialize. After more than four months, they have not; nor in my judgment, based on long study of our involvement, will they. President Nixon's finally disclosed proposals differ little from the futile proposals of his predecessor. They will not achieve peace.

Senator Mansfield continued: "It may be that we need something of the courage which has been displayed on the battlefield to face up to our responsibilities in Washington."

These moderate expressions by one of the most eminent legislators cry out for corresponding action. It is long overdue. Why should not the Senate "face up to its responsibilities"?

The Senate can bring this ghastly war to an end. It can take the first step in restoring our nation to sanity and turning its concern to our neglected problems at home.

How? The Senate should refuse to enact the next military authorization and appropriation bills, sending them back to committee with instructions that they be resubmitted with the funds for the Southeast Asian the-

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atre omitted. That would bring de-escalation and early termination.

Let no one allege that such action would be "letting our boys down." The implements of war authorized and appropriated by the Congress do not reach the front for a year or more. There is plenty of everything in the pipe line.

The Congress can no longer continue to blame the Executive. It shares the responsibility for the death of every American boy as long as it continues to vote for the military funds destined for Southeast Asia.

It is high time that the Senate "faced up to its responsibilities." Senator Mansfield can set the example by announcing that he will vote according to that conviction, thus suiting his actions to his words.

And it is time that the people back home began to realize that while the tragic conflict in Vietnam may have been President Johnson's war and may be becoming President Nixon's war, it is also the war of the Senators whose support makes its continuation possible.

ERNEST GRUENING

The Outside Handler

The confirmation of Chief Justice Warren Burger—which was notably brisk, given the present atmosphere surrounding the Court—may well have been expedited by the public relations efforts of a 35-year-old Texan, Richard A. Viguerie. A representative of the new breed of political flacks, Viguerie has had extensive contacts in right-wing circles through his direction of mail campaigns for conservative candidates. After leaving his post as executive secretary of Young Americans for Freedom, Viguerie campaigned in 1960 for the ultra-conservative Sen. John Tower. Later, he organized a mail campaign to raise funds for the successful right-wing drive to unseat Sen. Thomas Kuchel, a liberal-moderate Republican, in the California primary.

Just recently, Viguerie was hired to handle the direct mailing of a packet of materials concerning the new Chief Justice. Apparently the White House thought that Burger was such an obscure figure that right-wing elements in both parties might not be fully aware of the thrust of his thinking on certain issues. The packet included an extensive biography, drafted in Burger's office, and a reprint from *U.S. News & World Report* of a Burger speech attacking the Supreme Court's criminal procedure decisions.

More than 10,000 copies of this material were distributed in White House envelopes to selected media figures. As Herbert Klein, the President's Communications Director, explained it, this extraordinary outside handling was felt to be necessary in order to assure wider distribution of Judge Burger's views on crime than could be made from the White House. Recipients of the handouts (which to repeat, were enclosed in White House envelopes) say that the mailing labels were identical to those used by *Human Events*, a right-wing newsletter. The mailing provides an interesting inference, if no more, of just which sector of the political spectrum Judge Burger's nomination was intended to appease.

The Sweet Smell of Subsidy

About ten months back, we commended Rep. Paul Findley for his efforts to knock out all farm subsidy payments of more than $20,000 a year. At that time Mr. Findley inserted in the *Congressional Record* a list of such recipients by name, state and amount. His amendment passed the House by a vote of 230 to 160. A similar amendment, backed by Findley and Rep. Silvio Conte, has passed in the present session by 224 to 142. The bill now goes to the Senate, where hearings are to be held. The prospect is that the bill will be reported out with the amendment deleted.

That is what happened last year. But this year Findley shrewdly sought a correlation between hunger and farm subsidies, and found it. The new list shows such recipients as James Eastland of Sunflower County, Miss., at $116,978, and other fat-cat farmers. They are aptly called "subsidy men," for what they raise or reap, principally, is subsidies. Many of the counties with the longest lists of fat cats are those without food stamp programs, or any other help for the poor.

Senator Dirksen will of course oppose the amendment. The Administration being opposed, Secretary of Agriculture Hardin is opposed. He is conjuring up dreadful bogies—visions of big growers deciding to give free enterprise a chance, withdrawing from the program, and bringing down the whole agricultural price structure.

They will think twice before embarking on any such course. They may threaten secession from the trough of plenty, but will do so in fact only if they see an advantage. Probably it will not emerge. Besides, there are those who contend that the Secretary of Agriculture has power under existing legislation to maintain the current acreage limitations and the other restrictions on so-called overproduction.

What is significant about the Findley-Conte effort is that they have hooked up hunger, which for a good many people is a basic issue, with the farm subsidy program. So here is another conflict in which the heretofore accepted priorities are being challenged and can continue to be challenged. If the amendment is adopted, Congress might decide to scrutinize farm policy, a thing it has not done for years. The whole $5-billion setup of farm regulation and subsidization needs a going over, and the Findley-Conte approach would be a good beginning.

Victory for a Specter

Los Angeles

At 1:50 in the morning after Mayor Sam Yorty's unexpected re-election victory, Los Angeles City Councilman Thomas Bradley, the loser, stood before 3,000 of his supporters in a Hollywood ballroom. With no attempt to conceal his bitter disappointment, Bradley, the first Negro ever to attempt the race for mayor in this city, said: "We have worked for victory, not for a man but for an idea, not for a partisan victory but a victory for principle." The cheering crowd was silent; certain victory had turned mysteriously into certain defeat.

Bradley continued: "We have tried to prove that the

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democratic process can work. Never give up that hope. I have lived by that belief all my life, and I will not give up now. This city, this nation, does not begin or end with one man. Keep faith with what we are trying to do."

It was a splendid performance, unrehearsed since defeat was unexpected. Two expert polls, which had pinpointed Bradley's April 1 primary triumph over Yorty, both predicted a Bradley victory in the final election on May 27, although one had hinted of a possible Yorty win. As Bradley spoke, no one could avoid the comparison with Yorty. Two months earlier, the Mayor too had been surprised by election results. In defeat, he stood before the cameras snarling with such anger that even his aides were embarrassed.

At the moment of his rejection, Bradley thought first of the young people who worked for him, the same who had worked for Eugene McCarthy and Kennedy a year ago. He told them: "We have put together a coalition of conscience and concern. We have just begun our journey together. Go home now in an orderly fashion." These soft words, in a time of screaming obscenities, were consistent with the behavior of the man who spoke them. The crowd left quietly.

Why were the polls so accurate in the primary and so wrong in the final election? The huge turnout in May, an unprecedented 75.61 per cent of the city's 1,127,000 voters, brought a surge of white support for Yorty. They did not vote against Bradley the man; he was widely admired. They voted against his color. Three out of four voters in the primary rejected Yorty, but the Mayor's tactics succeeded in reducing the final election to white against black. The division was not entirely on color, for Los Angeles is only 18 per cent black and Bradley came within 55,000 votes of victory. But Yorty was successful enough: when its fears and prejudices were played upon, the nation's third largest city was not ready to replace even an unpopular Mayor with a Negro.

In a calmer time, Los Angeles might have done so, but against the ominous background of a poisonous war, black revolt and campus riots, Yorty stirred old passions and new anxieties. This worked, even though the Los Angeles "establishment," led by the *Los Angeles Times*, opposed the Mayor and supported Bradley. Behind Bradley were political leaders identified with Gov. Ronald Reagan and President Nixon, as well as liberal Republicans like former Sen. Tom Kuchel and Rep. Alphonzo Bell, himself a defeated primary candidate for mayor. Almost to a man, the top state and national leadership of the Democratic Party rallied to Bradley, and many national Republican leaders endorsed him, including Senators Percy of Illinois and Goodell of New York.

But all this was swept aside by the relentless flow of images on the evening news programs: armed students leaving a building at Cornell, James Forman in Riverside Church, sniper fire on a campus in North Carolina and, finally, during the last days of the election, the National Guard in gas masks fighting a pitched battle on the streets of Berkeley with students and "street people."

Yorty invoked the specter of a "racial coalition with left wingers" that was about to take over Los Angeles. He converted Bradley into an ominous symbol of revolutionary turmoil. This strategy, supported by tactics that sometimes exceeded George Wallace's virulent appeals to prejudice, was triumphant, but the cost can only be measured by future events.

Mayor Yorty is not a racist, but politics to him is a form of warfare, and any weapon can be used to avoid defeat. The saddest comment of all about Yorty may be that he is the product of a culture that venerates success, however achieved. Los Angeles today is divided by ugly fears. They must be removed, or Yorty will spend the next four years presiding over a community of bristling antagonisms. The man he must turn to for help is Thomas Bradley, who within hours of his defeat said he was willing. An elegant man.

PHIL KERBY

Dumping the Books

Among the Nixon Administration's many proposed cuts in funds for education some of the most severe are in programs for books and libraries. Where the 1970 Johnson budget recommended $134.5 million for libraries, the Nixon budget calls for only slightly more than $46 million. Apparently Under Secretary of HEW John Venneman meant business when he said at a recent budget briefing: "In the context of the total federal program for education, special programs for books and equipment are considered low priority."

The proposed cuts are devastatingly impartial. They hit libraries of all types. The $42 million in the Johnson budget for school library resources, textbooks and other instructional materials for public library programs would be reduced to slightly more than $25 million. The $42.6 million previously budgeted for college and university libraries would be reduced to $23 million. In fact, almost 25 per cent of the recommended reduction in appropriations for activities under the Office of Education would come out of the principal library programs.

Federal support for libraries is a recent phenomenon. The first program of any scope was the Library Services Act of 1956 which helped public libraries extend their services to people in rural and sparsely populated areas. In more recent years the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Higher Education Act have assisted schools and colleges to improve education by strengthening library collections. The effects of these funds were only beginning to be felt, and librarians and educators had reason to believe that the success of the programs argued for more rather than less support. They consider it shortsighted in the extreme to reduce federal aid at a time when the libraries of the nation are struggling to keep up with the growth of knowledge and educational institutions are facing their heaviest responsibilities.

In looking for the reasons for this attack on books and libraries it is tempting to cite large causes, such as the demands of the war in Vietnam, the costs of the ABM system, or the actions of campus dissidents. Perhaps these play a part, but it may simply be that we are seeing a return to what in the Eisenhower years the political cartoonist Herblock used to call "The Department of Not-Too-Much Health, Education and Welfare."

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ITALY ERUPTS

STORMING THE INSTITUTIONS

TIZIANO TERZANI

Mr. Terzani is foreign correspondent for the political weekly L'Astrolabio *(Rome). He has recently returned to Italy after two years in the United States as a Harkness Fellow.*

Italy is shaken by disorders. Ever optimistic, the big conservative papers and the television commentators pretend not to see it; but while they are reporting "business as usual," the polarization is revealed by the editorials of the extreme Left and Right, which on the same day can say: "The people have had enough" and "The police have had enough."

It is no longer merely a question of dissident students, whose occupations, sit-ins and confrontations have by now become routine (and not only in Italy) but rather of a deep and spreading social unrest which has already produced a series of casualties. Recently, two persons were killed in Battipaglia (Naples) where, in response to the announced closing of a factory, the workers attacked the town hall, the police station and the court, and blocked all roads into the city. For almost two days, Battipaglia was a "liberated area"; then the police fired their guns. A general strike was called all over Italy to mourn the victims. Much the same sort of thing had happened earlier in Avola, a small village in Sicily. There, also, two persons were shot by the "forces of order." Confrontations between strikers and the police are recurrent in modern Italian history, but they have not occurred with such violence and such tragic results since the 1940s.

During the first week of April, the penitentiaries rose to revolt. Protests staged by prisoners in Turin and Milan against inhuman living conditions suddenly developed into major riots, and when the news spread there were risings in a dozen other penitentiaries all over Italy. This outbreak was as unexpected as the unrest within other sectors of Italian society, whose imperturbability nobody would have questioned a short time ago. For example, the judiciary: They are the guardians of "law and order" and yet, at the opening of the judicial year, a group of dissident judges staged a counter-inauguration ceremony in protest against the present organization of their profession. Or take the hospitals: Some months ago, a group of radical psychiatrists "liberated" the wards in a mental hospital of Gorizia. They abolished century-old customs and regulations, and tried to set up a community of patients, doctors and custodians, thus challenging the common interpretation of such institutions as a sort of prison for the socially deranged, with psychiatrists as the guards.

The official political world has responded characteristically to all this. In the matter of the schools, jails, tribunals and hospitals, it has warmed up stale discussions about "necessary reforms"; as for the dead of Avola and Battipaglia, it has raised the depressingly narrow question of whether or not the police forces should go unarmed when quelling demonstrations. These are mere discussions, and intended as nothing more; because what must in fact be done is too much for a government whose precarious stability rests upon a complex Center-Left coalition (Christian Democrats-Socialists), designed primarily to stave off a Left-Right showdown. The overall political situation is unstable and some say that it is prerevolutionary. Nobody, of course, thinks that a revolution in Italy could assume the classical shape of a mob assaulting some Winter Palace; but if Rudi Dutschke's revolutionary theory of the "long march through the institutions" makes any sense, Italy could be the place to prove it.

The changed political and cultural situation of the country has made its institutions obsolete and produced ominous cracks in their structure. People used to pass through these institutions (schools, universities, hospitals, tribunals, jails) along the smooth tracks of their established rules. Today, the users, or if one prefers, the customers, of the institutions have begun to rebel against them, to challenge the quality of their performances, the rules and the authorities under which they operate. Once the students had started the process of desecrating venerated institutions, it spread to teachers, professors, doctors, patients, inmates, lawyers, judges, et al.

The social cohesion has thus been so loosened that one can hardly dismiss the present Italian situation as a passing malaise which a few quick reforms (which incidentally have not yet been announced) could heal. It is more likely the symptom of a profound unbalance within the institutional situation of a society that has not kept pace with the development of some of its most advanced sectors. The universities were the first and are still perhaps the most illuminating example. In Italy, they are still medieval institutions, set up according to a strictly hierarchical system, where in suffocating classrooms the courses taught are largely irrelevant to the problems posed by an advanced society, and in every way inadequate to training for the roles required by it. The same obsolescence affects the entire educational system, and for two years the universities and schools have been in what appears to be an irreversible crisis. Recurrent strikes and demonstrations are fomented by students, teachers and parents alike, and a whole generation of the young is leaving school trained by their daily experiences of defying authoritarianism and no longer prepared to assimilate the traditional values of the established society.

Even institutions which in the past used to mediate social conflicts are somehow losing their authority. Trade union control over workers is weakened and the unions' monopoly in handling grievances of the working class is broken. Strikes are declared without the sanction of the unions and when, as in Battipaglia, union officials try to cool the situation, they are rejected. The same loss of suasion is to be seen in the political parties. The interclass parties, such as the Christian Democrats and now also the

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Socialists, are hardly able to control the internecine quarrels among their left-wing and right-wing factions; even the Communist Party faces serious insubordination from its Right and its Left over such events as the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the party's condemnation of Russian intervention.

The Church itself, which for centuries has been one of the pillars of stability, is no longer able to control its progressive forces. A church in Florence became a community organizing center, with its priest explaining the Gospel as an account of the struggle of poor against rich, until the Vatican removed him. The Pope responds with exhortations to observe law and order.

But the movement, the forces of the "extraparliamentary opposition," reaches beyond the schools to various groups of professionals and workers, as well as to large segments of dissident Catholics. The variety of social forces it encompasses determines the variety of ideology and tactics through which the movement manifests itself. Its heterogeneous structure rules out for the time being both the organizational framework and the leadership under which actions within different sectors of society could be planned and coordinated. Its actions have not yet risen above the level of mere protest; the revolutionary forces clash against both the political structure and the institutions, shaking them up, but completely fail to supply substitutes.

Taken altogether, these developments provide an opportunity for the more liberal forces to attempt a modernizing reform of the entire society. Actually, there are forces, such as the economic interests of the big corporations (Fiat, Olivetti, ENI, etc.), pushing in that direction. They are trying somehow to channel the new unrest so as to accelerate the rationalization of the Italian society. The fact remains, however, that even mild reforms are difficult to bring about at a time when, from the top level of government down to what is called the "undergovernment," a very precarious balance can be maintained only by continuous compromises among factions. The government coalition is, in this sense, in a sort of political hibernation.

Among the institutional opposition, the Italian Communist Party (P.C.I.) is doing its best to make use of the unrest. For twenty years the party has played the role of loyal opposition to the government; it repudiated all revolutionary tactics and has accepted the idea that the "Italian national way to socialism" (Togliatti) is the institutional way. Now, after two decades in which it has behaved as a stabilizing factor, the P.C.I. begins to claim a share in power. In the present increasingly unstable situation it maintains, perhaps correctly, that order cannot be restored without its cooperation and the support of the 25 per cent of the Italian electorate it represents. In this sense, the P.C.I. is the political group that has profited most from the tensions created by the protesters. There is a good chance that it will soon participate in an enlarged government, especially as it has responded to the Czech affair by reaffirming its "democracy."

Yet just as probable as the rise of the Communist Party power is the prospect that the right-wing opposition, supported by the military, may attempt a *coup d'état*. This possibility has been a live threat ever since a first attempt became known to the Italian public (the Sifar scandal). In July 1964 the head of the police forces had arranged to take power according to a plan similar to that used by the colonels in Greece (it is said to be the standard blueprint, prepared for all NATO countries).

What seems most unlikely is the indefinite continuation of the present unstable situation. Not that this would be unheard of within the European democracies and particularly in recent Italian history. Today, however, the many forces at work in the different sectors of Italian society are unusually difficult to appease. Something must happen and, as more and more people say, anything can happen.

DEFENSE AGAINST DALEY

'THE CONSPIRACY' ON TRIAL

LARRY DAVID NACHMAN
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This September, eight prominent activists of the Left, Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, John Froines, Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, Bobby Seale and Lee Weiner, will be put on trial for alleged violation of a new federal conspiracy law. They have been indicted under a section of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 which makes it a felony to "travel in interstate commerce . . . with the intent to incite, promote, encourage, participate in and carry on a riot." The riot which they are accused of having incited, promoted, encouraged, participated in and carried on is, of course, the battle of Chicago. The penalty for conviction could be ten years' imprisonment and a $20,000 fine. The trial, which will coincide with the closing months of the turbulent sixties, may tell us a good deal about what to expect from American political life in the seventies.

The Anti-Riot provision of the Civil Rights Act was aimed at black activists and was based upon the "outside agitator" school of social analysis. The law echoed the refrain of those from troubled cities who, first in the South, then in the North, contended that "their" people were happy and content, that there were no serious local problems, and that all would be well were it not for outside "troublemakers." The tenuity of this argument is reflected in the vagueness of the law which so com-

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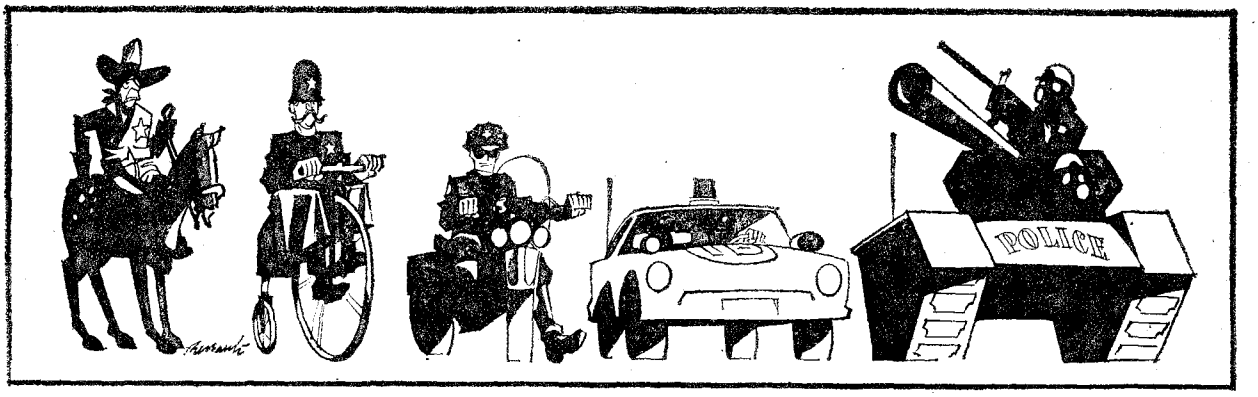

Renault, Open Forum

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pletely separates the intent and the act. Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and no radical, raised this question in a floor speech against the bill when he spoke of a hypothetical civil rights worker who goes South and

> there is a disturbance, not by those who sympathize with him, but by those who are hostile to him. He could be easily charged with having left his state with intent to incite a riot. He really had no such intention, but the facts are against him because he went to that other state and he found there was rioting. He could find himself clapped in jail, this civil rights worker.

It is, nevertheless, not inappropriate that the first case tried under this Act arose from the protests at the scene of the last Democratic National Convention. This decade has seen a dramatic revitalization of American politics. New interests, new visions and new commitments have come into being and drawn more and more people into the political life of the country. Yet the politics that has engaged Americans and created new political forces has not primarily been the politics of the electoral process. From the Birmingham boycott to the Chicago demonstrations, we have seen the growth not only of new political ideas but of a new political realm which has its locus in the streets.

The right to assemble and to demonstrate in public is a necessary part of the democratic process. It provides a means of challenging political institutions when they become unresponsive or dominated by entrenched and co-opting political interests. Demonstrations are the principal way to mobilize people who have been forgotten or ignored by those who manage the political system. To those awed or angered by the complexity and impassivity of modern institutions, demonstrations are a means of ending isolation and building community.

Both the importance of the right of assembly and its peculiar constitutional fragility were reflected in Justice Roberts' opinion in *Hague* v. *C.I.O.* (1936):

> The privilege of a citizen of the United States to use the streets and parks for communication of views on national questions may be regulated in the interest of all; it is not absolute, but relative, and must be exercised in subordination to the general comfort and convenience, and in consonance with peace and good order; but it must not, in the guise of regulation, be abridged or denied. . . . [The Jersey City ordinance which was at issue in this case] enables the Director of Safety to refuse a permit on his mere opinion that such refusal will prevent "riots, disturbances or disorderly assemblage." It can thus, as the record discloses, be made the instrument of arbitrary suppression of free expression of views on national affairs, for the prohibition of all speaking will undoubtedly "prevent" such actualities.

The point is that the Court will neither extend a blanket right of unrestricted demonstration nor will it, on the other hand, permit authorities arbitrarily to forbid demonstrations. Thus most large demonstrations take place according to ground rules prearranged by negotiations between demonstration leaders and civil officials. But when the civil authorities wish, on political grounds, to prevent a group from demonstrating, they will give various reasons ranging from interference with traffic to the possibility of a riot. If the demonstration is then carried on without a permit, the police will step in, as they did in Selma, and there will be an "incident." What is particularly interesting is the frequency with which demonstrations are prohibited, not because of what the demonstrators may do but because of what may be done by others to the demonstrators. The Supreme Court in *Edwards* v. *South Carolina* (1963) reversed the conviction of civil rights marchers who refused to disperse after being ordered to do so by municipal authorities, who gave as justification their fear that the protesters would be attacked by a crowd of onlookers. That the Anti-Riot Act did not distinguish between the perpetrator and the victim was seen by Representative Celler who pointed out that:

> Inciting a riot is defined as "instigating other persons to riot." "Instigating" may mean "provoking." Under this bill, if Dean Rusk crossed state lines in order to keep a speaking engagement to defend our policy in Vietnam, but knew that a group of individuals intended to conduct a riotous demonstration if he appeared, he would violate its provisions. . . . It is not at all clear that this bill is intended only to apply to those who inflame others to riot with the speaker—and not to those who take the law into their own hands to suppress a speaker whose views they find abhorrent.

But whether a disturbance is supposed to come from demonstrators or anti-demonstrators, the specter of riot is a typical basis for preventing a demonstration. During the civil rights movement, this excuse was often used by Southern states or municipalities to defend prohibitions

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against marches. However, in those cases the federal government, if it acted at all, acted on the side of the demonstrators. The threat raised by the federal indictments against the Chicago defendants is that, for the first time in recent years, the federal government is *initiating* action against street demonstrations by political dissidents.

There is no need here to rehearse the events of last August in Chicago. One point perhaps should be made. Criticism of the way Chicago authorities handled the demonstrations has tended to focus on the atrocious and brutal tactics of the police. But the real issue was and remains that the right to demonstrate is not recognized in Chicago. As the Walker report pointed out, the previous spring peace demonstrators had had permit difficulties and when they marched they were brutally attacked by the police. (See "Battle of Chicago" by Joseph L. Sander, *The Nation,* May 20, 1968.) In August, Richard Daley had determined that the only politics that could be carried on in Chicago was the politics of the party machinery. His treatment of dissidents within the convention was much the same as his handling of those in the parks and streets. Established politics is broker politics and one plays by the rules or not at all.

The Chicago defendants have clearly indicated that they understand that the guilt for Chicago belongs to the Mayor and not to the police. They have unanimously decided to provide free legal aid to any policeman indicted in Chicago for improper use of force. (They recognize that such indictments serve to shift the onus away from those who hold political power.)

Should the Chicago defendants be convicted, it would be an open invitation to the Daleys of the nation to come down hard on dissenters. The formula would be to proscribe demonstrations, attack "illegal" demonstrations with sufficient force to give the appearance of a "riot," and then let the federal government come in to charge the leaders of the demonstration with conspiracy. Under such circumstances, Martin Luther King could have been sent to federal prison after Selma.

The government has indicted men who represent virtually all of the varied and disparate strands that together make up the New Left. The political motivation behind the decision to indict them is perhaps best reflected in the fact that Bobby Seale was one of the eight. Seale was not at all involved in the planning or organization of the Chicago demonstrations. It was widely noted at the time that blacks in Chicago were steering clear of the areas in which there were demonstrations. The extent of Bobby Seale's participation was that he came to Chicago and gave two heated speeches. Why Seale? One cannot but suspect that the government has used this opportunity both to "get" Seale and at the same time to exploit the widespread fear of Negro violence by associating a leader of the Black Panthers with the other seven defendants.

There is no denying that conviction of the eight would wound American radicalism deeply. It is of course impossible to predict the outcome of the trial, but what can be said is that trials and appeals do not take place in a political vacuum. What the defendants and their friends and supporters do to create a healthy and sane political climate could have a material effect on the result.

Recognizing that their trial is political in nature, the Chicago defendants have chosen to conduct a political as well as a strictly legal defense. They have determined to call themselves "The Conspiracy," and they wish at their trial to put under examination the root issues which brought them and thousands of others to Chicago last summer, i.e., the war, the military-academic-industrial complex, racism and the unresponsiveness of political institutions. With not too much exaggeration, Rennie Davis says: "We will make this the political trial of the century."

There is little doubt that they have the will and the capacity to carry on a spirited and aggressive defense. The New Left has so far responded to political repression with greater *élan* and less despair and demoralization than the liberal victims of McCarthyism in the 1950s. At the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in recent years, young radicals were able to ridicule and deride the committee and even to exploit it by turning it into a political rostrum. A vivid sense of how far we have come from the early fifties is conveyed by the following response of James Wechsler during his appearance before the McCarthy committee in January 1953:

> the militant and vigorous anti-communism of the *New York Post* . . . has, in my judgment, been more effective in leading people away from communism, Senator, than those who prefer to identify liberalism with communism.

It is not hindsight alone that leads one to see that the real danger of Senator McCarthy was not that he was a less "effective" opponent of communism than the liberals. Indeed, as one reviews the record of the fifties, it is striking to find, as Noam Chomsky and Christopher Lasch have recently shown, the wide area of agreement between the liberals and the Right, who both made anti-communism a fundamental principle of domestic and foreign policy.

All of which raises the question, how will the liberals respond to the coming political repression? This is a critical question since the political climate of the next few years will probably be determined by their response. It is probable that liberals, in politics, in the press, in the universities and elsewhere, will find themselves internally divided by the Chicago trial and by subsequent events like it. Will the liberals, with their commitment to civil liberties, be able to stand by while the conservatives put increasing pressure on the Left? If they do, they will of course help to eliminate the problems raised by the more militant members of the Left. Disruptions would end but so also would demonstrations and a pall would be cast over our political life. The liberals have been warning the Left that the action of the militants would bring about a political repression in America. The question now, to paraphrase Eldridge Cleaver, is will the liberals be part of the problem or part of the solution?

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Black Studies: The Real Issue

JOHN HATCH
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Prof. Arthur Lewis is one of the most distinguished black men of this generation. Not only has he taken on white competitors in the academic world and beaten them; he has shown his commitment to Africa by acting as adviser to ex-President Nkrumah, to his own West Indies as vice chancellor of the West Indian University and chancellor of Guyana University. Now a professor at Princeton, he has watched the growth of agitation for black studies in the United States with instinctive sympathy but also with a non-American experience which enables him to view its progress more objectively than those, black and white, who are limited by enveloping American mores.

Professor Lewis recently spoke on the black studies issue at a Princeton dinner. He pointed out that in the Caribbean and African countries, because 99 per cent of the population is black, the objective of black political movements has been to gain control of government, but that in America, with only 11 per cent of the population, blacks can never gain the same goal. On the other hand, American society is dominated by 100 big corporations which exist in and serve an integrated community. Whatever revolutionary changes may take place in America, national life will continue to be dominated by such industrial colossi under some guise. Moreover, America will continue to need doctors, scientists, engineers, accountants, research workers, administrators and the like. The real injustice of American life lies in the fact that only 2 per cent of the top industrial or professional jobs are held by blacks and only 4 per cent of the middle posts. If these percentages are to rise, a larger number of black students must attend universities, and particularly the fifty to sixty leading colleges from which candidates for the highest posts are recruited. Yet if young black students are coerced into concentrating on black studies or into living segregated university lives, they will be denied the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and the social experience to fit themselves for competing with whites at the highest level. As Lewis said, students in Africa have already seen this point. Although most African universities have African study departments, "very few African students waste their time (as they see it) on such studies, when there is so much to be learned for the jobs they will have to do. . . . Only decadent peoples, on the way down, feel an urgent need to mythologize and live in the past. A vigorous people, on the way up, has visions of its future, and cares next to nothing about its past."

My own experience has been similar in some ways to that of Arthur Lewis. I also have taught in Africa, Britain and the United States. In one respect I may have had a deeper experience of American black education, for I have been on the faculty of a black university for five years and have known the ghetto and its schools. And here I would strongly emphasize another point made by Lewis: those who believe that university black studies can overcome the sense of racial inferiority inculcated into black children are deceiving themselves. This process begins at an early age; it cannot be eradicated at the campus stage. If the inferiority complex of blackness is to be removed, the starting point must be to improve the shocking education given to black boys and girls from elementary school onward. Black studies certainly have a place in the schools, a place in revolutionizing American studies so that the contribution of blacks and the injustices meted out to them become part of learning about America's heritage—its true heritage, warts and all. And it is just as important for this to be taught to white as to black children. Meanwhile, the terrible handicap placed on black children by the appalling education given them—often by black teachers badly trained in black colleges, whose professors are similarly victims of the whole vicious circle—should be the major focus of attention for those who wish to destroy discrimination in the United States.

But I fear a deeper danger in some aspects of the current black studies agitation and from the attitudes of some of its proponents than even Arthur Lewis describes. It is ten years since I was banned from South Africa for opposing apartheid. This year, my fifth in America's academic world, I have sensed there a closer approximation to the apartheid spirit than in any society since I was last in South Africa. Apartheid is based on the concept that every different "race" has a separate culture which necessitates separate educational institutions and curricula. (The fact that the apartheid concept has been used to justify political oppression is here irrelevant; the basic principle is what is important, for it induces a mental outlook from which all other consequences arise.) Apartheid is rooted in cultural separatism, its Holy Grail in South Africa the Bantu Education Act which provides for different teaching in segregated institutions for every "racial" group.

Some aspects of the demands I have heard or read from black students on American campuses could have been copied from the words or writings of white South Africans—with the words "white" and "black" transposed. Separate dormitories; black studies for black students taught by black professors from books written by black authors; black student unions, black theatres, even black physics, chemistry, mathematics. This total attitude would be, and no doubt is, warmly welcomed by Mr. Vorster. For the battle in Africa has always been between the African leaders who have preached and practiced nonracism, based on the concept of a single human family, and the southern African white racists who have maintained that skin color determines "race" and that "race" implies cultural difference which should be maintained by separatism. Thus Nyerere, Kaunda, Ken-

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yatta, Nkrumah have always insisted that skin color should never be a qualification for citizenship and have included white citizens in all levels of their states, right up to ministerial status; whereas the South Africans and Rhodesians have imposed separate schools, universities, voting rights, social facilities and, ultimately, separate states.

The object of South Africa's educational apartheid is to stop the 80 per cent of the population that is non-European from participating in the country's modern, urban economy. (Of course, it fails, as more and more non-European labor is demanded by industry, but that is beside the point. The Bantu Education Act confines thousands of African children to a curriculum based on tribal culture, and deprives them of the skills essential for participation in the modern world.) That is not the aim of those who agitate for black studies on American campuses; yet if the demand is based on cultural separatism it would have a similar effect. Indeed, as I shall show later, in the American environment, with its much greater emphasis on industrial and commercial success, it could have a far more profoundly traumatic effect.

There seem to me two conflicting concepts in the approach to black studies. They may be illustrated from my personal experience. In 1965 I addressed the student assembly of a "predominantly Negro university" on the subject of African history. I began by facetiously suggesting that it was an anomaly for an Englishman to be emphasizing the importance of African history to an audience composed of Africans. This remark provoked immediate uproar—as was intended. About two-thirds of the black students bitterly resented being called African. This year it is the fashion at the same university to learn Swahili.

Many of us who have been trying to introduce African studies into American universities have been motivated not only by our interest in Africa but also from recognition that a dangerous gap has been left in the cultural heritage which is offered to successive generations of Americans. The history and culture of every immigrant community is included in American teaching except that of the 10 per cent who came from Africa. Of course the history of Africa before the slave trade is not sufficient to fill this gap. What the slaves and ex-slaves have done over the past three centuries needs to be added. But the revulsion of my students from what they imagined as their African legacy as recently as four years ago illustrates the perverted social psychological situation in which American society has been left as a result of the African vacuum. Until recently, African history was thought to be so shaming that African descendants themselves were insulted by being reminded of their origins—and this conception still persists in the majority of Americans. On the other hand, now that African history has so suddenly become fashionable, a great deal of spurious, romantic nonsense is written, taught and believed about peoples who are just as liable to human error and villainy as the rest of mankind.

So African studies take on a special significance to American culture. When the experiences of the slaves and their descendants in America are added they can fill that gap in the American legacy. Americans can begin to understand that Africa contributed to American society just as England, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Germany, Hungary and the rest have done. Black Americans need no longer be ashamed of their origin and white Americans will find the roots of their contempt dug up. But this applies only if Afro-American studies are considered as an essential component of American studies, for black Americans have only an American environment in which to exist. (African studies, though an essential part of Afro-American programs, can of course exist separately, in the same context as any other study of non-American society.) In this light they are just as important to white as to black students. They become an essential element in the teaching of all aspects of American culture from primary school to university, and as such will become socially invaluable to American society.

It is in another concept of such studies that the danger lies—not only for America as a whole, nor sim-

Pat Fink

"He's Trying To Understand Himself—Speaks Nothing But Swahili"

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ply for American whites, but most seriously for black society itself. Harold Cruse, in *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, contends that America is a pluralistic society, its ethnic groups all competing with one another. Once this notion of America is accepted, the policies of civil rights' integrationists become irrelevant and diversionary. Black society must follow the example of each of the other ethnic components and fight to establish its own separate nation with sufficient strength to hold its own in the jungle of American pluralism.

From this perspective of American society, black studies become the intellectual armory with whose ammunition black students can lead the assault against the racial battlements which have previously excluded the black nation from the tournament. It is thus that black students at Cornell declare that the purpose of black studies is "to enable black people to use the knowledge gained in the classroom and the community to formulate new ideologies and philosophies which will contribute to the development of the black nation." It logically leads them to demand as part of the black studies program Course 300c, Physical Education: "Theory and practice in the use of small arms and hand to hand combat. Discussion sessions in the proper use of force."

In this context black studies obviously cannot be taught or learned with any degree of academic objectivity. Yet at this point black students find themselves in a dilemma. At UCLA, for instance, and I know of other examples, it is they who demand that equal standards be maintained in the teaching of black studies—but equal to what if not to the academic standards already laid down? The most honest intellectual response I have heard to this is that of Prof. Leonard Doob of Yale, who says that although it is possible to justify an inter-disciplinary degree of the black studies type, if it is to be taught at the same depth as the conventional single discipline it will take five instead of four years.

This reveals the central dilemma of today's black "nationalist"; it could lead to a terrifying trauma for the whole black community. In the first place, the black intellectual is certainly caught in an impossible contradiction. On the one hand, he is expected by black students to provide propaganda for what is often an emotional, irrational agitation. On the other, he has been trained in academic objectivity and has become a member of a color-blind international fraternity. To be forced to choose between the two is tragic. But the dangers go much deeper. For the dilemma faces the whole black community. (It seems to me that at present the majority in that community is standing on the side lines, watching the activities of the young black militant students. It broadly accepts that the liberal civil rights period is over, if only because that has been exposed as dependent on the white man's whim—on whom the white man will admit to his society.) The concept of a black nation competing with the various white nations within a pluralistic America has a certain emotional appeal, especially as it re-creates black dignity. But almost all black Americans have been reared in the values of white America. How then can they compete except in terms of those values? And if they follow this course how can they escape the recognition that white America has made them inferior in such competition by the whole impact of its social action over the past three centuries?

It seems to me that this is where the most profound dangers of the present attitudes are to be seen. If black studies are to fill the vacuum in the American inheritance left by ignorance and prejudice about the African legacy and the Negro contribution it can enrich U.S. society and rid it of its deepest emotional perversion. If, on the other hand, they are to be used as irrational, anti-intellectual ammunition for an introverted concept of a separate black nation they can bring disaster to the black community.

To comprehend the dangers of this introversion one has only to live in the "predominantly Negro" college of today and witness the emotional disturbance taking place among normally stable faculty and students. In one such college an appeal was made to the black students in a neighboring, mainly white, university to drop their demand for black studies so their chances of being accepted in the black college would be improved. And here it is crucial to draw upon social psychology to understand what is happening. The most tragic impact of white racialism on black America was the way in which it led blacks to despise themselves. Because the test of success or failure, virtue and evil, intelligence and stupidity, were all based on white standards—and yet, as there were no others—accepted by the black community, the failure of blacks to succeed in American society implied to them that they were themselves inferior. So the most tragic aspect of American racialism was the self-contempt induced within the black community itself. The authors of *Black Rage*, William Grier and Price Cobbs, both black psychiatrists, explain this, as well as much more of the current dangerous situation:

> Black people feel that white people are smarter. . . . Black racists are fond of recounting the evil genius of the American white man. . . . They have simply reversed the moral value placed on his acts. Now they are evil and perfidious, whereas before they were glorious and enviable. But they continue to be brilliant acts of genius, executed by omniscient men. It is a pity that too many of these voices calling Negroes to blackness still preach a thinly veiled version of white supremacy.

The intellectual consequences of this attitude are equally disastrous. To quote *Black Rage* again:

> Black men hear on all sides that success lies in being like white people, who establish the standard of wisdom. Is it any wonder, then, that this consequence of racial prejudice is deadly to the intellectual flowering of black people? And is it any wonder, then, that in a desperate attempt to avoid it, many latter-day chauvinists adopt an anti-intellectual posture? They fail to see that by this very stance they reveal themselves as victims of the same American creed of white superiority.

And we are certainly seeing a deep well of anti-intellectualism within the movement for black studies—some of it accepted by frightened administrators and emotional faculty.

One of the most valuable elements of the decade of

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civil rights agitation was the opportunity it gave black people to turn their eyes outside their own community and vent their wrath on their white persecutors. As Grier and Cobbs put it: "Depression and grief are hatred turned on the self. . . . As grief lifts and the sufferer moves toward health, the hatred he had turned on himself is redirected toward his tormentors. . . . When the mourner lashes out in anger, it is a relief to those who love him, for they know he has now returned to health." The danger, then, of the rejection of the civil rights tactic is not that it alienates white liberals but that it may turn the black people themselves back into their introspective inhibitions. This is again bound to be disastrous.

If, as seems certain, a great deal of charlatanry develops within black study programs as untrained faculty are pressed into service or take the opportunity to jump on the bandwagon, black students will find that they have created another institution to emphasize their inferiority, another cause for intellectual derision. And the inclination, already apparent, toward cultural separatism in black studies can only deepen the trauma of self-contempt within a closed community. As Martin Kilson, himself a black professor at Harvard, has put it, unless black studies programs are subject to the same rigorous academic discipline as other departments, they will become "just a kind of revivalist situation where the repetition of the experiences that each black kid has had will give him a sense of cathartic gain or of therapeutic value, but this will not be an intellectual process. It'll really be a kind of group therapy." That is hardly the training for intellectual competition.

It would seem, then, that the benefits which will be brought to the black community by the present agitation for black studies on the campuses of America depend on the degree to which black students withstand the temptations of political propaganda and the false security of cultural separatism, on the vigor with which they insist that black studies be conducted as a legitimate academic exercise, filling the age-old gap in America's inheritance which has caused white and black alike to assume the inferiority of the Afro-American. It will also depend on the intellectual sincerity, the patient understanding, the human relationships of America's campus administrators as, under sometimes physical pressure, they recognize the need for their academic world to express atonement for its participation in American racialism. On these choices will depend whether the rage for black studies leads to a more rational, healthy American society or accelerates the Gadarene flight toward cultural separatism—apartheid.

ALA: NEW VOICE OF LABOR

B. J. WIDICK

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The silence at George Meany's AFL-CIO headquarters during the two days when the Teamsters and the Auto Workers were founding the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA) was not merely discretion. It also reflected the shock in the AFL-CIO hierarchy over something happening that wasn't supposed to happen. There are now two major voices of American labor on important political and social issues, and those AFL-CIO factionalists who wanted to live in the disputes of the past have been dragged into a new ball game.

President Nixon's hope that organized labor would support his drive for an ABM system (a reasonable expectation, since the AFL-CIO Council under Meany's domination had given its tacit approval) was destroyed when the ALA—500 delegates representing the two largest and most powerful unions in America—said No. It could have been expected that Walter Reuther would speak out against this escalation of the arms race. The surprise was that the plainest views against the war in Vietnam came from leaders of the Teamsters, whose national image has been that of know-nothing tough guys.

Even the UAW leaders learned something new about Frank Fitzsimmons, who has become "his own man" running the Teamsters in the enforced absence of James Hoffa; about Einor Mohn, the West Coast Teamster whom the AFL-CIO once wanted to run for the union's presidency against Hoffa, and about Dusty Miller, the Southern Teamsters vice president. Their talks punctured the myth that Harold Gibbons was the only Teamster concerned with Big Issues; or that Emil Mazey, of the UAW, was the only top labor leader in America who spoke directly against the war and the military-industrial complex.

Fitzsimmons said bluntly: "This war, the bane and plague of both Democratic and Republican administrations, must be stopped and must be stopped soon. If it is not, its consequences will tear the fabric of America until there is serious doubt that the tear can be mended satisfactorily."

And Fitzsimmons declared further—in marked contrast to Meany's crude hostility toward youth movements—"I, for one, do not believe that the so-called generation gap is something which cannot be bridged. I believe that a constructive and meaningful dialogue can be established with the youngsters if we only take time to talk to them. Just standing back and shaking our heads when they storm a university or when they demonstrate is not enough."

Einor Mohn chided the labor movement for not understanding the youth and for lagging in the fight against discrimination. "It's not hard to get an audience for objectives as noble as these—equal opportunities and equal

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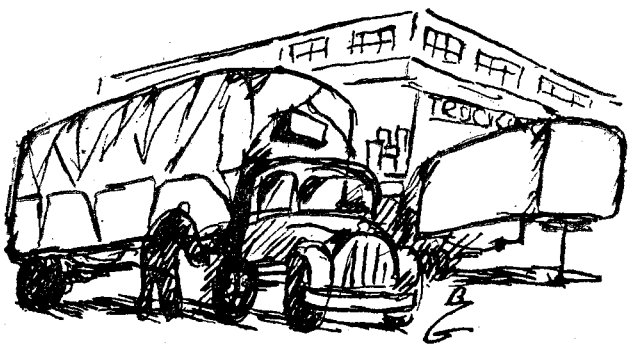
rights for Americans—yet within my union this idea is not always embraced. We have to look at this question not only from a moral sense but in its economic impact and aspects. If we are not going to set up a training program for young blacks and browns, and come up with language that says we can't, then we are in trouble. . . ."

Mohn reminded his union audience of something else: "I don't believe in violence on the campus, but why do we get so thin-skinned? I remember when it was a high insurance risk to cross a picket line to scab. I also remember a city on the Great Lakes where union members took over buildings illegally for many days. We often here offer platitudes to the younger generation today. We should realize that 50 per cent of them in the next peiod will be ours, and we've got to help them. And one way to help them is to try to understand."

For good measure, the ALA wrote into its declaration of purposes the determination "to develop policies and carry out programs that will enable the American labor movement to repair the alienation of the liberal-intellectual and academic community and the youth of our nation in order to build and strengthen a new alliance of progressive forces in the broad effort to advance the common good."

Henceforth, it will be harder for the Meany forces to dismiss the "outside world" of youth and the academy with sneers and snorts. Nor can they plausibly dismiss the issues dividing the AFL-CIO and the ALA as merely a matter of Reuther's personality or ambitions. The war, the ABM fight, the ghetto problems, etc., are much bigger than that.

Of course the national press, looking for signs of a bloody fight between the AFL-CIO and the ALA, with



rare exception missed the significance of this change of attitude in an important part of the trade union movement toward the social convulsions of the day. So many people were expecting a conference dominated by Reuther that they missed the basic point that this is a coalition of equals. They still fail to realize that men who have directed union growth to more than 2 million members can't be stupid. But it has taken this new alliance to show what human resources the Teamsters really have.

For example, the spontaneous ovation given Mrs. Hermina Traeye of the Charleston, S.C., Hospital Workers and the $25,000 check presented to the strikers don't fit the public image of the Teamsters; nor does the old-fashioned but fiery oratory of Dusty Miller, describing the miseries in the South and the problems of unionizing there. This does not mean that all the Teamsters, or all the Auto Workers have experienced a change of heart, or that a new crusade is about to begin. It does say that the ALA has begun already to project a personality quite different from the "outcast" look of the Teamsters and the UAW separately.

Washington politicians were not slow to see the implications of the ALA policies. Sen. George McGovern came to the conference to congratulate the two top men, Frank Fitzsimmons and Walter Reuther, and welcome the organization into the fight against the war, the ABM and the demand for a cut in the inflated military budget. His views were roundly applauded.

Over private objections made to the Nixon Administration by the AFL-CIO (a crude attempt to play down the role of the ALA), Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz also appeared at the ALA, where he sought unsuccessfully to defend the Nixon program toward agricultural workers' organizing drives. He was cordially received but was again told that the agricultural workers must be given full legal rights to organize within an NLRB setup—a stand taken also by the AFL-CIO.

The real importance of Shultz's appearance was its indication that under Nixon's Republican sway, Meany's easy access to the White House is over. Both for reasons of conflicting convictions and because of the new power relationships between the AFL-CIO and the ALA, the technique of "clearing it with George," will hardly work satisfactorily either for the White House or for the union movement. Walter Reuther is no longer an isolated "dissident" nor are the Teamsters beyond the pale.

The ALA is not a new social force, or new unionism. As Fitzsimmons stressed time and again, it doesn't need or want to be either of these things. It does seek to invigorate the union movement. It will have political and organizational muscle useful to unorganized workers, notably the agricultural workers and the workers in the South. Its annual budget of about $4.5 million will be administered by a ten-man executive committee, with Reuther and Fitzsimmons as co-chairmen.

Any union organizer will tell you he'd much rather have the backing of the Teamsters and the UAW than any other group. This is not the least of the reasons why the building trades have so assiduously maintained relations with the Teamsters, even when Meany was casting James Hoffa's forces into purgatory. The ALA's program for low-cost housing may put it in conflict with some building trades unions. Fitzsimmons recently told a building trades conference that they have to change some of their policies, including the apprentice programs. He was not booed, as was George Romney at the national building trades conference. Taking on the Teamsters is a little tougher than taking on a politician.

At many union gatherings these days, standard procedure is to hand-pick a Negro spokesman who will praise labor's role in opposing discrimination, and denounce black extremism. The ALA offered a refreshing change. At the evening banquet, Whitney Young, Jr., gave a

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persuasive analysis of the conflicting political tendencies among black people. He dissociated himself from "non-ngeotiable" campus demands, but reminded the unionists of the many times they had presented "non-negotiable" demands without expecting anybody to take them at face value or to refuse to negotiate. Young welcomed the formation of the ALA, told the audience they should give more money and organizational support to the Hospital Workers, and pointedly emphasized the huge gap between white labor and the black community. "If you have trouble explaining back home how come you listened to me, just remember I'll have even more trouble in the ghetto explaining why I spoke here. We both have a job to do." It was an impressive speech and very well received.

Of course, there were some strains among the secondary leaders at the ALA's birth. Some Teamster officials are unhappy about being allied with the Big Talker—"all brains, no guts"—as Reuther was sometimes referred to in private. And some UAW leaders have doubts about some of the Teamsters; the shadow of Hoffa remains. But most UAW representatives at the conference found it at least as comfortable to be with the Teamsters as with the building trades people in the AFL-CIO. And it was a good feeling to have the 2-million-member Teamsters as an ally. Even with the unspoken doubts, most delegates recognized that the top leaders are seeking to replace the wide public impression that labor is an example of "entrenched success," with the image of a dynamic union movement concerned with the underdogs of society, the Negroes, the poor whites, the Mexican-Americans and the unorganized, lowly paid workers, North and South. There were no resolutions of self-praise or obsequious speeches directed toward the leaders at the ALA meeting. Past glory was recognized as an insufficient credential for leadership today.

Both Reuther and Fitzsimmons showed an understanding of the limited nature of their alliance, the pitfalls and areas still to be explored. Meany is going to reconsider the AFL-CIO's withdrawal from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. As soon as a face-saving formula can be worked out, the AFL-CIO will be back. The ALA is deliberately vague about its plans, if any, in this area, and for the time being the UAW will continue to follow its own best judgment. Nor is there any clear-cut commitment on political action. Both unions will try to work together and with other unions where possible. There are, thus, unresolved questions. But after one year of serious and frequent private conversations, the most important leaders in the ALA have a firm sense of where they want to go. In a world of accidents, of social change and convulsions, it would be idle to speculate on how the alliance will look a year from now, but the trend toward a livelier, less monolithic union movement is visible.

Lane Kirkland, Meany's administrative assistant, whom the AFL-CIO selected to replace William Schnitzler as secretary-treasurer of the Federation, is a very competent executive whose quiet personality and cool-headed objectivity are in sharp contrast to Meany's virtriolic emotionalism at the mere mention of the name Reuther. This suggests the possibility that differences between the ALA and the AFL-CIO may focus more on issues involved than on the personality conflicts which so painfully characterized the disputes of the past.

TAX REFORM

MOVES TO PATCH THE LOOPHOLES

W. DAVID SLAWSON
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On April 21, one day before his subordinates at the Treasury were scheduled to testify on the subject to the House Committee on Ways and Means and only a few weeks after he had said that he would not make any major tax proposals until 1970, President Nixon announced his "important first steps in tax reform" at a press conference called for the purpose. His unexpected action placed the leadership of both parties behind tax reform and thereby gave the nation its first opportunity for a truly significant change in its tax laws since World War II.

Credit for the opportunity does not belong exclusively to the new President; in 1966, President Johnson directed the Treasury to prepare proposals and background studies for reform. The Treasury submitted its report in the spring of 1967, but by then Mr. Johnson had decided to concentrate on urging Congress to enact a tax surcharge as a weapon against inflation, and the reform proposals were ignored. A small group of Treasury officials and interested Congressmen nevertheless continued to work behind the scenes. A rider attached to the tax surcharge bill called upon the Administration to prepare tax-reform "studies and proposals" for presentation to Congress by the end of 1968.

His hand thus forced, Mr. Johnson ordered the earlier Treasury proposals updated and submitted them to Congress, without comment, on December 31. They were at first also ignored by the incoming President, but were taken up by Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, who began holding hearings on them this spring. The hearings greatly contributed to a ground swell of popular and Congressional support which had been gaining momentum all winter until, by

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April 21, President Nixon had either to act or see his opposition on the Hill take control and receive the political credit.

Whatever motivated them, the Nixon proposals merit support. They go only a short way toward solving some immense problems, but that would be far more than the last two Democratic Presidents were able to accomplish, or than President Johnson was even willing to suggest. More important, they serve to align the Nixon Administration, at least in substantial part, behind the earlier Treasury proposals now being considered in the House, and those proposals are quite good indeed. Tax reform of some kind seems a distinct possibility.

The President's proposals can best be viewed against the inequities they are designed to correct. The first, a "low income allowance," is a system of deductions which would eliminate income taxes entirely for the *very* poor (families of four with incomes of less than $3,500, for example) and students working part time, and give some relief to the elderly and handicapped. The income levels at which federal taxes currently become effective were set back before World War II, when a family of four might have lived at least decently on $3,500 a year. An adjustment of the kind proposed is long overdue.

A second proposal would liberalize deductions for moving expenses. Its principal beneficiaries would be rising young executives in national corporations, who are moved frequently and far at company expense—though without benefit of as much tax relief as they might deserve—but everyone who moves will obviously benefit as well.

Under existing law, a taxpayer who receives both taxable and excludable income can take all his personal deductions against the former and so gain a double benefit from the exclusion. Interest on funds borrowed to purchase securities on which a capital gain is realized, for example, may be deducted in full against the half of the capital gain which is taxable, thus allowing much more than half of it to escape tax. A third reform proposal would require that such deductions be allocated between taxable and excludable income.

Existing tax law allows farmers to deduct expenses, even of a long-term capital nature, in the year in which the taxes are paid—that is, to operate on a simple "cash basis"—and, sometimes, to pay only a capital gains tax on whatever receipts they realize from the sale of their plants or livestock in the years after the expenses are incurred. The two privileges can be combined to the substantial advantage of taxpayers with large amounts of nonfarm income. Such a taxpayer, for example, can buy a dairy herd (which he may never see), deduct its expenses against his high nonfarm income, and realize the gains from sale in a subsequent year when his income may be less and when the gains will be taxable only at the much lower capital-gains rates anyway. Another reform proposal would deny such farm deductions against nonfarm income in excess of $5,000 per year, unless the taxpayer were willing to follow normal accrual procedure for all his farm transactions—the justification being that anyone with sizable nonfarm income presumably has the sophistication not to need the privilege of simple "cash-basis" accounting. Probably in deference to the farm bloc, however, the proposal is silent on the other leg of the abuse. There is no more justification for farmers to receive capital-gains treatment on their dairy cattle than there is, say, for a truck manufacturer to enjoy it on the sale of his trucks, and the special treatment for farmers is doubly unjustifiable because it significantly benefits only the small percentage whose incomes are high enough to be taxable, otherwise, at the highest ordinary-income rates.

A proposal with the nickname "LTP" (for "limitation on tax preferences") is the Nixon answer to the furor created by the Treasury's disclosure that many taxpayers with very high incomes pay no tax, or only a token tax, because they qualify for so many gimmick deductions that their income for tax purposes is near zero.

However, LTP is itself another gimmick. It derives from the Treasury's original and sound idea for a "minimum income tax," which would have required everyone to pay at least as much tax on half their income as they would pay without any of the gimmick deductions. The Nixon version uses the same approach, but, among other limitations which reduce it to near impotence, fails to require reinclusion of the two most important deductions: capital gains and interest on municipal bonds are left outside the scheme, as tax free as ever.

When asked to explain the omission of municipal bond interest, Administration officials first replied that the Justice Department had raised questions of constitutionality. Whatever may have motivated those questions, it cannot have been any real legal doubts. Supreme Court decisions have long since made clear that private income from state and municipal sources is subject to federal tax just as much as private income generally. An explanation later offered was that taxing the interest on such bonds, even to the limited extent involved in a "minimum income tax," would jeopardize federal-state and federal-local relationships. That explanation at least makes sense, since state and local governments would, of course, have to pay higher interest rates to offset the effect of imposing a federal tax. But studies show that the federal government could impose its tax, subsidize the higher state and local interest payments and still come out much ahead. The source of the Administration's refusal to include municipal bond interest in its proposal is now known to have been Attorney General Mitchell, whose private practice was primarily as an attorney for the issuers and purchasers of such bonds.

Still another proposal deals with trusts. They are now taxed at the same rates as individuals, so that a taxpayer seeking to transfer income-producing property can avoid taxes by putting it in trust for years, where it will be taxed at essentially the rate an individual would pay if that were his sole source of income, and let the trust distribute the property with its accumulated income to the recipient afterward. Existing law sometimes allows the donor and recipient thus to escape entirely paying the greater tax the latter would have had to pay on a direct transfer of the property, and in all cases limits the recipient's tax liability to the tax difference for the five years preceding the property's distribution. The reform proposal

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is to eliminate both the five-year limit and the technicalities which sometimes allow the recipient to escape paying the tax differential entirely.

The law on deductions for gifts to charity is subjected to several proposals, designed to decrease the extreme tax benefits for lower-income givers. The rules applicable to private charitable foundations would be tightened, to restrict the extent to which the creator or his family could continue to control them for his or their private (and tax-free) benefit. The application of normal taxation to businesses operated by clubs and societies but not substantially related to the services they perform for their members would be extended to similar unrelated businesses operated by churches and social-welfare organizations, and the investment income of clubs and societies would be made subject to tax.

Three proposals deal with the corporate tax. Since a corporation is taxed only 22 per cent on its first $25,000 of income and 48 per cent on the rest, it pays handsomely to spread a single business enterprise among as many corporations as possible. Grocery chains, for example, may form a different corporation for each of 1,000 or more stores. Present law permits such spreading, subject to a token tax penalty of only $1,500 per additional corporation. The first proposal would eliminate this loophole by, in effect, taxing as a single corporation all corporations which are subject to control by substantially the same group of shareholders. The second would eliminate a technicality on mineral "production payments" through which about $200 million in taxes now escape payment each year. The third would eliminate the 7 per cent investment credit, which at present allows corporations a credit against their tax of 7 per cent of what they invest in depreciable property other than depreciable real estate. This proposal is not so much a reform as an attempt to fight inflation by dampening investment. As such, it would be of questionable efficacy.

One difficulty is that it would be effective only selectively, and not always with the selection one might wish. The credit does not apply to, and so its elimination would not affect, investment in real estate; nor would elimination do anything to dampen corporate growth by investment in nondepreciable intangible items such as heavy advertising. Even in the areas to which the credit applies, its elimination would have little anti-inflationary effect in the short run because corporate investment plans are normally made months or even years in advance and cannot easily be turned off in response to a quick change in tax consequences. And in the long run, the effect on corporate investment would probably be eliminated by the ability of corporations to pass on to consumers their resultant higher taxes in the form of higher prices. Both theory and history indicate this result. Corporation income taxes today (state taxes included) exceed 50 per cent, yet the ratio of corporate after-tax income to corporate investment—i.e., the corporate rate of after-tax profit—is still almost exactly the same as it was in the twenties, when corporate taxes were so low as to be negligible. If elimination of the credit served any anti-inflationary purpose at all, it would be only in the "middle run"—if any exists—between the time span of corporate planning and the time span for passing on taxes in the form of higher prices, and by the time that "middle run" comes around in, say, a year or so, the inflationary picture may have changed entirely. The net result of the proposal may therefore be simply to increase corporate taxes and thereby raise prices, a result no different from, and hence just as regressive as, the imposition of a sales tax. The poor, whose incomes are spent almost entirely on the kinds of goods and services which would be hit by such a price increase, would end up paying the cost.

The only other proposal of note in the Presidential package is a technical one designed to remove a tax advantage now enjoyed by the huge corporate conglomerates, which enables them to pay more for businesses that they acquire and so stimulates their acquisition activity. The proposal would have its intended effect (which would not be nearly enough, however, to stop the growth of conglomerates), but it is subject to serious question on the merits. It is my opinion, at least, that the tax advantage it seeks to remove—the deductibility of interest paid on bonds in certain situations—is one which businesses other than conglomerates can also avail themselves of in comparable circumstances, and so ought either to be removed entirely or left alone.

Although subject to serious criticism, the Nixon proposals have value. The road to tax reform has been blocked so often that one can hardly afford to scoff at what, after all, would be far more than President Kennedy was able to accomplish or than President Johnson even proposed. But the time *may* be ripe for achieving more. The December 31 Treasury proposals, rather than the proposals of the President, are providing the principal focus for the current hearings of the House Committee on Ways and Means, and Chairman Mills has let it be known that he does not intend to limit the committee's recommendations to what the President wants.

Among the many Treasury proposals which are superior to those of the President, or which the President chose not to support at all, three are especially important. The Treasury's "minimum income tax" would constitute a real, not fraudulent, step toward tax equity by imposing an alternative tax equal to the tax which would ordinarily be paid on one-half of one's income if certain very important exclusions from income were added back in—specifically, interest on municipal bonds, percentage depletion in excess of cost, the normally excluded half of capital gains, and appreciation on property given to charity. A second Treasury proposal would tax the appreciated value of property which is given away to noncharitable recipients or which is still held by the owner at the time of his death. A third would combine the now separate taxes on estates and on gifts during life into a single "transfer tax" and, in the process, greatly simplify and tighten the two taxes' provisions.

Should Congressman Mills's committee decide to report out the last mentioned Treasury proposal, however, it would do well to eliminate a qualification on one of its provisions which would effectively cancel it. Under existing law, trusts lasting more than a generation can pass an interest from one generation to the next entirely without

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tax, on the theory that an interest in a trust is not transferred at all, but is, rather, "extinguished" and "created anew" each time a member of one generation dies and a member of the next generation takes his place. The Treasury would tax the passing of such trust interests like any other gift or estate transfer, but only for trusts created after the reform was adopted. Since by the Treasury's own statistics, *almost all* family trusts in estates of $2 million or more are of the generation-skipping variety, this means, in effect, that at least *another full generation* of the very

rich will be assured of immunity from estate or gift tax, and if history is any guide at all, we can be sure that by the time this particular reform catches up with the second or third generation of heirs (by the year 2000, perhaps?), a new generation of Wall Street lawyers will have found a new gimmick to beat it. The lack of need for the qualification can be seen from the fact that the beneficiaries of these trusts are, or will be, in no worse position relative to a change in the tax laws than are those who have or will receive property free of trust—in either case, the heirs will receive property or income from property which they can enjoy during their life and which will, or should be, subject to whatever transfer taxes are in effect when they die. If the Treasury's notion that every property disposition has a vested right to be taxed only in accordance with the tax laws in force at the moment of its creation were applied across the board, every parcel of property would have its own set of tax laws and some property would still be taxable in accordance with the laws of the Presidency of William McKinley!

The real shortcoming of both sets of proposals is not that they would imperfectly accomplish the reforms they propose, but that they fail even to attempt the most important reforms. First and most obviously, nothing (except the Treasury's "minimum income tax," which would have a partial effect) has been proposed to eliminate or reduce oil and gas depletion allowances or similar allowances for other minerals, or the related privileges of deducting "intangible" drilling expenses. Government-sponsored studies have predicted that the elimination of these privileges for oil and gas alone, even assuming no compensating price or cost adjustments by the industry, would yield, conservatively, an additional $1.6 billion revenues per year. The assumption of no compensating adjustments is extremely conservative; the additional revenues which would actually be received would probably be twice that much, or about $3 billion. Also conspicuously absent are proposals to eliminate the broad and unjustifiable "tax shelters" at present available for investments in real estate. These are complicated—so complicated, in fact, that the results of eliminating them can only be vaguely guessed—but they derive principally from the real estate investor's ability to deduct about twice as much depreciation for tax purposes as actually occurs in the initial years and then resell his property and report the difference between the resale price and his artificially reduced basis as capital gains, taxable at less than half ordinary rates.

The documents passed to Congress by the Treasury on December 31, however, contain "studies" of the economic implications of a repeal of the depletion allowance and the deduction for intangible drilling costs on the oil and gas industry and of a repeal of the special tax privileges for real estate. Needless to say, both studies carry clear implications that repeals would be desirable, and both are sufficiently well reasoned and factual to supply ample ammunition for Congressional committees or anyone else choosing to make use of them. Chairman Mills recently let it be known that he favors action to cut back the depletion allowance even if the President should oppose it—though Mills apparently would not support, let alone propose, action to eliminate the allowance entirely.

But the omission which dwarfs all others is the failure of the proposals to include any thoroughgoing revision of the tax treatment of capital appreciation. Much the larger portion of the wealth of the very wealthy in the United States is gained not from earnings (salaries or wages) but from property, and the larger portion of that is gained not in immediate cash (rents, dividends, interest, etc.) but in the growth in value of the property concerned—so-called "capital appreciation." The two major sources of capital appreciation are corporate stock and real estate. Upward of $600 billion of corporate stock is held by or for individuals, and all but a fifth of it is held by or for the richest 1 per cent of the population. From 1950 through 1964 it averaged 6.5 per cent appreciation per year in book value (a fair measure of stable, long-term growth) and better than 11 per cent per year in market value. Book value growth since 1964 has been at an even faster pace. From this source alone, therefore, the richest 1 per cent receive income of upward of $30 billion a year. Under present law, this income produces only about $1 billion in tax—a rate of only 3.3 per cent despite the income's being received by persons most of whom are (or should be) in the 70 per cent bracket. Comparable figures for real estate do not exist, but if we disregard occupant-

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owned homes on the ground that they are not primarily investments, the amounts, concentrations and rates of tax would probably be found to be similar. The failure of the income tax to reach this income makes a mockery of the tax's pretensions of being progressive, that is, of taxing the rich more, proportionately, than the poor. In fact, when capital appreciation is taken into account, the rich pay a *much lower* proportion of their income in tax than do any of the rest of us except the really poor.

Appreciation is taxed so lightly because under existing law it is not even considered to be income unless and until the property is sold. Since most such investment property is never sold but is held until death and then bequeathed to an heir, most of it escapes tax entirely. Moreover, that which is sold and taxed, is taxed at an especially low rate which never exceeds 25 per cent. The one aspect of this situation which the Treasury proposals at least would correct, even partially, is the failure to assess a tax at death or when the property is given away during the owner's lifetime. The Treasury would consider such transfers as "sales" for tax purposes unless they were made to charity. That correction is important, but it would still leave property owners with a lifetime's free use of income most of which, if they had earned it as salary or wages, would have had to have been paid as tax, and it would still leave them paying only at the low rate of 25 per cent or less.

Any such immense omission from the income tax might be thought to have elicited a great deal of controversy, but this one has not, because the tax law's failure even to consider appreciation as income has led or allowed most tax commentators to leave it out of account entirely. It is common to read even in reputable comments, for example, that not much more revenue could be obtained even if the richest 1 per cent were taxed at 100 per cent of their income, because their total annual income left after tax at current rates is only something like $1 billion or $2 billion a year—but unbeknownst to the reader, "income" in such statements carries the highly artificial and exclusive meaning which has been attached to it by the tax laws. If the *real* income—including appreciation—of the richest 1 per cent were taxed even at, say, 50 per cent, the additional revenue would be more than $15 billion from corporate stock alone, plus something comparable from real estate and other appreciable property. Put another way, including such income within the scope of the income tax would, conservatively, increase existing revenues of $75 billion by almost half—or would allow rates to be reduced almost a third for everyone.

But even a clear-eyed attempt to include this kind of income in the income tax would encounter difficulties. Appreciation may be hard to measure in the absence of an actual sale, or taxing it may discourage investment and so slow the growth of the economy. That neither difficulty is conclusive in all situations, however, can be seen from two examples: publicly traded stock has a market value which can easily be ascertained with or without an actual sale, and the large corporations which issue it make their investment decisions essentially without regard to their stock's tax status; and land, whether unimproved or underlying improvements, has a value which appraisers can fix at least approximately, and although investment in land *would* be discouraged by taxing its increased value, discouraging that kind of "investment" would not slow the growth of the economy because the mere holding of land for profit (which for this purpose must be sharply distinguished from the building of improvements on it) makes no contribution to economic growth and, indeed, often hinders it.

The income tax laws *could* feasibly be adapted to include much, probably most, of the appreciation which now escapes tax. That which could not feasibly be included should, if we are to have a fair tax system, be subject to special treatment under some other kind of tax. Some Western European countries apply a capital or "worth" tax of some small per cent per year for that purpose, and there seems no reason why a similar scheme could not be adopted here. Or, wealth not feasibly reachable by the income tax might be subjected to an especially high estate-tax rate, so that its recipient would at least be restricted in his ability to pass on the same, privileged tax-free status to his heirs.

The Nixon proposals differ principally from the Treasury proposals in their failure to include any steps toward placing a fairer share of the tax burden on capital appreciation. The conclusion seems inescapable that they were drafted with the intention not to disturb the large holders of the nation's accumulated wealth. Even the steps the Treasury proposes to take in this direction are far from enough, given the immensity of the problem, but they are probably as much as we can realistically hope to achieve at this time.

The Nixon proposals deserve support as the bare minimum that ought to be done. The Treasury proposals, plus Chairman Mills's suggestions to reduce the percentage depletion allowance, deserve wholehearted support, as the best general program for reform offered in this generation, if not in this century. But no one should lose sight of the fact that in the long run still more fundamental reforms are necessary if the burdens and benefits of the nation's economy are to be fairly shared by all.

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other over the few jobs available; the increasing desire of Americans to avoid (for the wrong reasons) more international adventures, thereby eliminating military *and* nonmilitary markets for production . . . and on and on.

The Administration could take even more measures to prevent our next depression by dealing with the international realities of Cuba and China, for purely selfish reasons of trade, if not for moral reasons. It could double postal employees immediately (as proposed by CORE, I believe) and fulfill a perfectly legitimate function of making our service more efficient and as an incidental benefit (since we must not dare smack of socialism) putting people to work *before* they go bankrupt or desert families. There are legions more suggestions, coming from all sorts of groups . . . but I despair that governments are *ever* responsible in advance of crisis.

But I must say, it's nice to read that others will not be surprised when the inevitable happens. Please thank Mr. Tanzer for me. I always enjoy reading things that I have "always said." *Barbara J. Rios*

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Marcuse: Ferment of Hope

AN ESSAY ON LIBERATION. *By Herbert Marcuse. Beacon Press. 91 pp. $5.95. Paper $1.95.*

PETER CLECAK

Mr. Clecak teaches English at the University of California (Irvine), and is at work on a book on contemporary American social criticism.

Post-World War II American Marxist critics inherited a magnificent though apparently anachronistic revolutionary tradition. Plagued by memories of earlier political defeats, they were isolated in a hostile society which neither fit previous theoretical formulations nor responded to the feeble "revolutionary" politics of tiny sectarian parties. Although most critics merely *condemned* the drift toward a depressingly stable garrison state, a few, notably Paul Baran, Paul Sweezy, C. Wright Mills, and Herbert Marcuse revived the Marxist tradition by attempting to *explain* the distinctive shapes of postwar American capitalism.

But the very few comprehensive analyses by independent Marxists consistently illuminated the blind alleys of radical politics. And hence the vision of human liberation which animated Marxist theory and politics for more than a century once again turned into a mocking dream beyond American history—and perhaps beyond world history. For in the late 1950s, the shock of de-Stalinization and the Soviet intervention in Hungary demoralized those who had persisted in their belief that the USSR would gradually build a morally and politically defensible socialism while it helped the underdeveloped countries break out of their cycle of backwardness. Betrayed in Europe, arrested in the underdeveloped world, and virtually abandoned even as an idea in the United States, socialism ceased to be "scientific" and lapsed into its original utopian status—no longer a hope but a bitter memory.

In the early 1960s, a counter-theme of hope paralleled the dominant mood of radical despair. As the Sino-Soviet split deepened, the locus of the Socialist vision shifted from the USSR toward Cuba, China and Vietnam which seemed to preserve the germinal idea of "Socialist man" by resisting a stratified society committed mainly to the pursuit of affluence. The concept of human liberation through world revolution was invested with a fresh content: diverse forces ranging from the Cuban Revolution and the Chinese Cultural Revolution to the nascent revolutionary movements in the underdeveloped world and the student movements in Europe were all arrayed against the principal enemy of American imperialism. A curious assortment of critics and activists—including Frantz Fanon, Fidel, Che, Mao, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Stokely Carmichael, Régis Debray and Herbert Marcuse—formed an international revolutionary set. And in the United States, the radicalization of elements of the black movement, as well as the emergence of a new generation of middle-class radicals unencumbered by the past, provided domestic confirmation of the apparent thaw in the frozen historical dialectic.

Herbert Marcuse has reflected and intensified these nodal points of despair and hope in his major works, though he has often lagged behind dominant radical moods. From *Eros and Civilization* (1955) through *An Essay on Liberation* (1969), Marcuse has evolved a comprehensive "critical theory of society" which embraces his own shifting attitudes toward the potentialities for world revolution and the creation of a genuinely free global community. In *Eros and Civilization*, published during the most dormant period of cold-war radicalism, Marcuse moves easily in a "universe of discourse" whose expansive boundaries are defined by *historical* rather than *political* potentialities. Using a variety of perspectives drawn principally from Hegel, Freud and Marx, he brilliantly synthesizes Freud's later metapsychology with Marxian historical perspectives, concluding that a human community freed from "surplus repression" can be built on a technological base. In Marcuse's theoretical projection, Freud's perpetual dialectic of civilization in which repression and sublimation constitute the price of progress is redefined as historical and therefore transient.

One-Dimensional Man, his main work of the early 1960s, shifts the emphasis from the possibilities of liberation to the inhibiting structure and organization of "advanced industrial society." Here we encounter the fundamental irony in Marcuse's theoretical framework: the failure of this society to "materialize values," to embody its vast potentialities for "ameliorating" life in social practice. Following Marx, Marcuse assumes that historical development—at least in the West—is essentially a battle against scarcity to "pacify" human existence; it is man's collective struggle within and against nature to overcome the material scarcity which sustains obvious forms of misery—starvation, disease, ignorance, brutality and alienated labor. Though progressive, the war against nature is, for Marcuse, "progress in domination," a mixture of historically necessary and adventitious sacrifice of human and material resources.

Through science and technology, the advanced capitalist societies of the West have achieved the material prerequisites for eliminating physical oppression, and hence the *preconditions* for psychological, moral and spiritual liberation. Despite actual and anticipated gains in productivity, however, the societies remain repressive. Instead of using affluence to diminish the sphere of alienated labor and to expand the realm of genuine freedom from the material and psychological repression of previous social orders, "advanced industrial society" uses its increasing wealth to tie people of all classes to a Sisyphean cycle of needless work and enervating leisure. Individuals "preconditioned" by their role in the processes of production and consumption adopt the "false needs" and values of an irrational society.

This identification of individual and social needs reduces—even cancels—the possibility of effective opposition and hence precludes a "qualitative" social change, a leap from a repressive to a liberated social order.

The concepts of "freedom," "democracy," "pluralism" and the "open society" become rhetorical decoration, emptied of their previous meaning and power to assist in the "pacification of human existence."

Marcuse's investigation of contemporary society leads him to a seemingly unsolvable paradox: "There is," he observes, "no ground on which theory and practice, thought and action meet." Of course, not everyone has been swallowed up by the affluent society. There remains a "substratum of the outcasts and outsiders, the exploited and persecuted of other races and other colors, the unemployed and the unemployable," whose "opposition is revolutionary even if their consciousness is not." But according to Marcuse, the possibility that the traditional intellectual head and the proletarian heart of Marxian theory will take on revolutionary life is remote—"nothing

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but a chance." His "critical theory of society" therefore "possesses no concepts which could bridge the gap between the present and its future; holding no promise and showing no success, it remains negative." Marcuse concludes the pessimistic dirge by quoting Walter Benjamin: "It is only for the sake of those without hope that hope is given to us."

It is hard to imagine a more pessimistic prophecy. The very aim of Marcuse's critical theory seems subverted, for the principal function of his dialectical theory is to contribute to revolutionary change by identifying "the historical alternatives which haunt the established society as subversive tendencies and forces." But since "values attached to the alternatives" do not "become facts" until "they are translated into reality by historical practice," the theoretical alternatives divorced from a radical politics lose their haunting power. Thus Marcuse sets out to offer an account of how previously utopian goals have become historically possible, only to end by revealing the anatomy of a society apparently capable of arresting and containing these historical possibilities.

An Essay on Liberation provides a mildly optimistic footnote to Marcuse's previous articulation of radical despair. Using the theoretical matrix of *One-Dimensional Man*, he defines and explores the historical "alternative" to the "global domination of corporate capitalism." The underdeveloped Socialist countries, the guerrillas in the neo-colonial world, the ghetto dwellers in the American metropolis, and the international student movement form component parts of the "alternative," since each participates in the "Great Refusal" to submit to the "continuum of repression." Marcuse argues that even though "none of these forces *is* the alternative," they define the limits of the established societies and create a "space, both physical and mental, for building a realm of freedom which is not that of the present."

To justify his mild optimism, Marcuse must work out of the impasse of *One-Dimensional Man* by demonstrating that his dialectical theory makes the historically possible utopian goals of liberation politically plausible in a world largely dominated by American capitalism. Marcuse concedes that a revolution in America presupposes a severe economic stroke, a possibility outlined briefly (and unconvincingly) toward the end of the essay. And he also accepts the traditional Marxist concept of the working class—old and new—as the historical agent of revolutionary change in the "metropoles." But at present, the working class cannot generate significant opposition from within, since it is bound physically and mentally to the *status quo*:

THE POEM

Out of continued striving
have I fashioned this.
Out of the indefinable,
its attentiveness,
yes, its embrace.

But I must add:
cold collisions,
humming, humming,
and an empty bed.

ARTHUR GREGOR

Revolution presupposes liberation and liberation presupposes revolution. Marcuse solves—or at least softens—this paradox by introducing a free agent into his otherwise determined, anti-revolutionary system. He defines a new subjective dimension of opposition in the "diffused rebellion among the youth and the intelligentsia." The "student movement" becomes "the ferment of hope in the overpowering and stifling capitalist metropoles. . . ."

The essay works toward a definition of the subjective basis of the new opposition and toward a demonstration of its objective, that is, political functions in advanced industrial society. Marcuse begins by laying a biological foundation for socialism, arguing that "the radical change which is to transform the existing society into a free society must reach into a dimension of the human existence hardly considered in Marxian theory—the 'biological' dimension in which the vital, imperative needs and satisfactions of man assert themselves. Inasmuch as these needs and satisfactions reproduce a life in servitude, liberation presupposes changes in this biological dimension, that is to say, different instinctual needs, different reactions of the body as well as the mind." This theoretical construction involves nothing less than the emergence of a "new man" (Marcuse's analogue to "new man" theories in the Socialist world).

The trend toward synthesizing sexual and political rebellion in the student movement confirms the biological basis of a genuinely revolutionary consciousness: "Political radicalism implies moral radicalism: The emergence of a morality which might precondition man for freedom. This radicalism activates the elementary, organic foundations of morality in the human being." The instinctual rebellion is paralleled by the formation of "The New Sensibility," a new configuration of instinct, feeling and moral imagination which breaks the fetters of one-dimensional thought and behavior. Here Marcuse adds psychological rejection to the physiological revolt and suggests that the "aesthetic dimension can serve as a sort of gauge of a free society," as the model of the dominant form of life in the future. Those who possess "the new sensibility" strive to act out the dreams which have been preserved in the aesthetic sphere throughout the historical epochs dominated by repressive forms of Reason and the Reality (Performance) Principle. Guided by this qualitatively different form of consciousness, technology can be used to create an aesthetic way of life:

> in its negativity, the desublimating art and anti-art of today "anticipate" a stage where society's capacity to produce may be akin to the creative capacity of art, and the construction of the world of art akin to the reconstruction of the real world—union of liberating art and liberating technology. By virtue of this anticipation, the disorderly, uncivil, farcical, artistic desublimation of culture constitutes an essential element of radical politics: of the subverting forces in transition.

The final two chapters ("Subverting Forces in Transition" and "Solidarity") round out these speculations on the potential role of disaffected middle-class youth and the intellectuals in the whole context of world revolution. Marcuse contends that the *depth* of this rebellion —which affects even the "metabolism" of those in revolt—preserves it from corruption and containment and defines its marginal existence as the missing spark in a neo-Marxian theory of revolutionary change. He explores the paradoxical character of the opposition, "the striking contrast between the radical and total character of the rebellion on the one hand, and the absence of a class basis for this radicalism on the other." There is no pretense of projecting a strategy and tactics for these amorphous groups—other than the suggestion that they function as "catalysts of rebellion in the majorities." The change in sensibility is only the "beginning, the first step in changing social existence: emergence of the new Subject. Historically, it is again the period of enlightenment prior to material change—a period of education, but education which turns to praxis: demonstration, confrontation, rebellion." It's not much, perhaps, but it's better than a quotation from Walter Benjamin.

Since it would be quite impossible to develop a thorough critique of the many facets of Marcuse's work in such a brief space, I shall focus on the fundamental assumptions of his "critical theory of society" and their implications for radical thought and action.

One-dimensional society, a construct derived from Marcuse's critical theory, threatens to negate the theory itself, for the *whole* of this society apparently suppresses the negative dynamic of previous class societies. Thus a critical theory which previously analyzed "existing societies in the light of their own functions

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and capabilities and . . . [identified] demonstrable tendencies (if any) which lead beyond the existing state of affairs" seems outmoded in one-dimensional society. In order to retain his commitment to the axiological assumptions as well as to the concept of history as a series of "determinate negations," Marcuse must refocus the theoretical lens on marginal forces beyond the neutralizing capabilities of advanced industrial society. For Marcuse, then, the principal choice is "not democratic evolution versus radical action, but rationalization of the *status quo* versus change. As long as a social system reproduces, by indoctrination and integration, a self-perpetuating conservative majority, the majority reproduces the system itself—open to changes within, but not beyond, its institutional framework." In short, the "revolution would be liberating only if it were carried out by the non-repressive forces stirring in the existing society."

This theoretical matrix seems vulnerable on a number of counts—theoretical, moral and political. It is designed to preserve Marcuse's radical vision in the historical present. But I wonder whether his vision of liberation deserves such an elaborate defense. Of course, every social theory ultimately rests on axiological foundations which cannot be logically refuted. These assumptions of value are finally matters of preference. But they are crucial matters of preference which decisively affect the contours of social analysis. Although Marcuse's broadest aim of enlarging the scope of man's freedom through the progressive "pacification of human existence" is hardly controversial, his neo-Freudian concept of a sensuous and aesthetic mode of existence organized by the Pleasure Principle strikes me as both dull and vaguely conceived.

Now the accusation of dullness may only reflect the constricting barriers of my own imagination—a simple inability to sort out true from false needs. In contrast to Marcuse, I prefer to imagine a post-capitalist society which eliminates destructive forms of competition and economic inequality while preserving tensions between reason and passion, pleasure and pain, fantasy and "reality," competition and cooperation. The sort of liberation which Marcuse imagines would bind individuals to a new dimension of unfreedom, enslaving them to their libidinal drives, and to a depressingly cheerful mode of existence. But such nostalgia cannot for the present (and, I believe, for the foreseeable future) be dispelled by mere argument. A more serious objection to Marcuse's image of liberation stems from its faulty psychological underpinnings. The whole neo-Freudian paraphernalia of Eros and Thanatos suggests a medieval morality play. As Peter Sedgwick observed in an extended critique of *One-Dimensional Man*, concepts such as Eros, Thanatos and sublimation cannot be tested: "We shall . . . lay no special emphasis on the fact that there is rather more evidence for the existence of leprechauns than there is for the reality of an energizing libido or for Eros and Thanatos as fundamental drives of organic life."

But let us suppose that Marcuse's vision *ought* to be preserved against the existing social whole. The more intriguing question is whether it *can* be sustained without sacrificing the historical character and the political relevance of Marcuse's critical theory. He quite rightly condemns "metaphysical" speculations about the future of man as useless—even detrimental—to the search for a decent social order. But one wonders whether the tensions between contemporary society and visions of a radical future force Marcuse to bend his critical scope beyond history toward metaphysics. The issue turns on whether "historical possibility" is a sufficient category for distinguishing potentially effective political practice from wishful thinking.

In *An Essay on Liberation*, he not only condemns the *status quo*—the current organization of material and intellectual resources—but also every emergent force except a minority of middle-class youth, the intelligentsia, and the ghetto population. And he dismisses every political action except those of small, amorphous groups outside the economic and ideological grip of "the whole." This lens of critical theory simplifies and, I think, distorts the potentialities for change within and against the present social framework. It threatens to become anti-political by prejudging and dismissing every political act not performed by those in total opposition —objectively or subjectively—to the society. For Marcuse, the matter seems to be decided on narrow theoretical rather than on empirical grounds. All the political struggles within this society may *in fact* turn out to reinforce an oppressive system. But given the abstract assumptions of Marcuse's theory, the decision is automatic, a priori. It is thus the excessively abstract character, and not the abstracting tendency, of the theory which seems debilitating.

The anti-political implications of Marcuse's theory are also evident in the nature of the "opposition." He asserts that "at present in the United States, the black population appears as the 'most natural' force of rebellion." At the same time, however, he suggests that this opposition does not fit his theoretical mold because of countervailing factors such as the rise of a Negro bourgeoisie and the marginal function of blacks in the "productivity of the system." These immediate forces deserve more extended and precise analysis, for they importantly shape the possibilities—however slim—for political action on the part of a small, divided Left.

In his discussions of the student movement—the "ferment of hope"—Marcuse exhibits a similarly ambivalent pattern: he connects the movement to the aims and assumptions of his critical theory only to reveal, by way of qualification, the forces which confound his theoretical hope. Even though "revolutionary in its theory, in its instincts, and in its ultimate goals," the student movement, according to Marcuse, is not a revolutionary force. Still, the students testify "to the truth of the alternative—the real need, and the real possibility of a free society." Marcuse finally gives a carte blanche to the young. He curiously submits to the mystique of youth, the disposition in monopoly capitalist society to celebrate all forms of the new, and by easy extension, the young, in response to the economic imperative of conspicuous and frantic consumption—of products, and finally, of people. Throwaway beer cans, throwaway dresses, and sooner or later, throwaway people, washed up at 30. Nowhere is the connection between economics and ideology so clear as in the cult of youth. This horrifying program, one of the

DEATH

Old ones cannot speak
fearing their years
will drop on them,
too many boxes.
I too cannot speak.
Old ones stay
in forests
lit by fires
of burning years.
I too am in a wood.
I am not old
but my needs are gray
sticks beating
across my back.
Old ones cannot rise
from time's weight
silent as the chairs
on which they sit,
silent as the room
in which I write.
Old ones haunt me.
That haunts me most
which will not appear:
a man whose buried youth
wears black,
a woman who is nightly
a moon
bare as a tooth
biting itself in half.

DORIANNE GOETZ

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many obscene aspects of this society, ought to be resisted on the Left.

Marcuse's futuristic vantage point obscures the immediate political problems of the student movement, the forms of political radicalism which may emerge when today's students enter the professions. It ignores the potentially reactionary character of an opposition whose moral self-righteousness makes it contemptuous of other people and of political calculation and response. Marcuse admits that in "some sectors of the opposition, the radical protest tends to become antinomian, anarchistic, and even nonpolitical." He observes that the "weird and clownish forms" of the rebellion get "on the nerves of the Establishment." But they also give others on the Left a case of nerves.

The theoretical matrix thus obscures the main political questions which the Left must encounter, willingly or reluctantly: What are the prospects for reform within the limits of monopoly capitalist society? How can reforms change the shapes of the system? What are the probable directions of the black movement? What are the prospects for the development of an American fascism? How can the student Left and the adult Left—such as they are—respond to these questions without disappearing into the Center or lapsing into a sectarian opposition? When do confrontation politics serve radical interests, and when are they inappropriate? Can a mass revolutionary movement be built in the United States? These questions do not admit of easy or final answers. They are obviously permeated with contingencies. But a theory which dissolves them into irrelevant speculations about a self-defeating politics of the *status quo* tends to support the existing state of affairs it sets out to "transcend." Marcuse chooses to reject the political potentialities of the American Left to pursue a remote "historical possibility" which he fully sees as a long shot, to understate the matter.

I do not wish to suggest that Marcuse ought to develop a strategy and tactics for the Left. He works on a higher level of abstraction. Rather, the problem is that his theory either precludes serious political analysis or is irrelevant to it. The critical theory of society which informs *One-Dimensional Man* and *An Essay on Liberation* finally turns on a dialectic of hope and despair. These are the ultimate categories. In the space of five years, the deep pessimism of *One-Dimensional Man* has become a self-conscious optimism. Although drafted before the events of Paris, 1968, the essay partakes of the ultra-leftist spirit which has flourished in the aftermath of the uprising. The critical theory accommodates extreme moods rather than resisting them.

Of course, a theory and politics of shifting moods is not unique to Marcuse. It is our common disease, the fate of Americans who believe in the necessity of fundamental social change and yet sense the impossibility of such change in the near future. The problem is what to do in the meantime. Although a few can be full-time political organizers and social critics, the majority of radicals must define their personal lives within and against this most outrageous society. Thus, in addition to a comprehensive social theory and a short-range radical politics, we need to synthesize personal and political styles of life. Marcuse may delight in surrealistic scenes where "the hatred of the young bursts into laughter and song, mixing the barricade and the dance floor, love play and heroism." But such visions do not help members of the adult Left find a way through a confusing period.

Having emphasized the negative elements of Marcuse's critical theory, I do not wish to imply a negative judgment on his work. Its aims and scope are obviously impressive. His analyses of major thinkers since the Enlightenment—Kant, Freud and Marx—reveal a depth of knowledge and a synthesizing capacity which mark him as one of the very few major social theorists of the postwar period. And even though his style is often clumsy and needlessly opaque, much of his analysis of the contemporary social scene is brilliantly conceived. In fact, many of Marcuse's incisive formulations have become the common property of radical critics. I have criticized Marcuse at his most vulnerable point—his theoretical projection of the relations between radical theory and politics. He is not alone in his inability to answer the vexing question, "What Is To Be Done?" It remains the unanswered question and the open secret of the American Left. Marcuse suggests the most obvious reply, namely, nothing—at least nothing which seems to lead toward an American socialism. That is at once the best answer and the worst, theoretically sound but emotionally unacceptable.

If the society cannot be transformed, it can at least be understood. And Marcuse has made an important contribution toward that end. We do not have many critics in his league. And that is why I find his wholesale endorsement of the New Left so disconcerting. He ought to provide a critical balance, especially in a period when laying one's body on the line—any line—commands status in radical circles, whereas the commitment of intellect frequently provokes ridicule on the Left, as in many of the dominant sectors of this society.

Cain Revisited

CAIN X 3: The Postman Always Rings Twice, Mildred Pierce, Double Indemnity. *Alfred A. Knopf. 465 pp. $6.95.*

KENNETH LAMOTT
Mr. Lamott is a novelist whose latest book, The Moneymakers, *will be published by Little, Brown this month. He is currently working on a book about California as a civilization.*

The good word is that Cain revisited holds up remarkably well. There is the remembered tautness of structure, the absolute control of the well-articulated plot, the cold eye for the essential truth about men and women. The language is spare and clean, only occasionally breaking down into cliché. It is hardly an original observation, but watching Cain at work can still give the reader that particular pleasure that comes from watching a master craftsman, a cabinetmaker fitting a joint, or a potter throwing a pot. I would not go as far as Tom Wolfe, who in his introduction to this book suggests that Norman Mailer might well sit at Cain's feet to learn how to become a *real* novelist, but the spirit of the suggestion is not without merit.

Unlike what must be the majority of movie-going Americans, I have not seen any of the three movies made from these books and I consequently returned to *The Postman Always Rings Twice, Mildred Pierce* and *Double Indemnity* with a mind uncluttered by images on the screen. I was surprised to be reminded that the two thrillers, *The Postman* and *Double Indemnity*, are so short (barely 100 pages each) and that the melodrama *Mildred Pierce* is so substantial a piece of work by comparison, not only in terms of its comparative length (258 pages) but also in its substance both as a novel and as a commentary on the social climate of California.

All three books are, of course, California books, and each carries throughout a strong sense of the place. The Twin Oaks Tavern, where Frank Chambers and Cora Papadakis plot the demise of Cora's husband, Nick, is on the highway from Mexico, 20 miles south of Los Angeles. The climactic scene in which Frank and Cora send Nick's corpse over the edge of a cliff gains a good deal of its effect from the ominousness of the (then) little traveled hill road to Malibu. *Double Indemnity* be-

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gins in a bungalow which Cain describes with clinical precision:

> The furniture was Spanish, the kind that looks pretty and sits stiff. The rug was one of those 12 x 15's that would have been Mexican except that it was made in Oakland, California. The blood-red drapes were there, but they didn't mean anything. All these Spanish houses have red velvet drapes that run on iron spears, and generally some red velvet wall tapestries to go with them.

But it is *Mildred Pierce* that is Cain's quintessential California novel—a novel that approaches Nathanael West's *The Day of the Locust*, which still stands, more than thirty years later, as *the* California novel. *The Postman* might have been transferred to, say, Cape Cod without losing any of its essentials, and *Double Indemnity* could, *mutatis mutandis*, take place in Evanston or Montclair or Bethesda or any other suburb where a crooked insurance man and a greedy wife might conceivably plot to dispose of an unwanted spouse at great profit to themselves, but *Mildred Pierce* was clearly conceived by Cain as the distillation of that California in which he was then living. (Cain was born in Annapolis in 1892, and now lives in Hyattsville, also in Maryland.)

The relation of California to the rest of the United States has been a subject of considerable comment in recent years, with the generally received opinion being that California serves as America's window into the future. I think this is nonsense—or, if it is true at all, it is true only in a very special sense. California itself has no future and I don't mean this in the physical terms which Curt Gentry recently developed in his earthquake book, *The Last Days of the Late, Great State of California.* California has no future as a place for people to live because it is being fragmented and chewed up and laid waste as a consequence of the impossibility of reconciling its dream of the Good Life with the reality that is represented by an economy geared to warfare, by gross political irresponsibility, by a reckless tradition of ravaging the land, and by a commitment to physical violence and to spiritual anarchy. More than any state in the East (which Californians both envy and fear), California is the state of the death wish.

The gulf between the dream and the reality is the substance of *Mildred Pierce*, and Mildred herself (who "looked like a successful woman of business, with the remains of a rather seductive figure, a face of little distinction but considerable authority, a credit to that curious world that had produced her, southern California") is one of the great heroines of our fiction. Her story is precisely the tragedy of high hopes and ambition and boundless energy set against a community geared to the smashing of dreams.

Within the first 5 pages of the novel, Mildred has driven her faithless husband out of her house in Glendale and has taken on the consequent responsibility for making a way for herself and her two young daughters. (Glendale, a residential enclave neighboring on Pasadena to the northeast of Los Angeles proper, is described by the more remarkable of these children as "Forty square miles of nothing whatever. A high-class, positively restricted development for discriminating people that run filling stations, and furniture factories, and markets, and pie wagons. The garden spot of the world—in a pig's eye. A wormhole, for grubs.")

It is the spring of 1931. Jobs are scarce, but Mildred, who "had the true California tradition of optimism," lives in the illusion that she can manage by selling the pies and cakes she bakes in her kitchen. Of course she can't. She must get a job during the most dismal period of the Great Depression, and ends up, as other genteel ladies have, slinging hash. She saves her pride by managing for a while to hide the nature of her employment from her older daughter, a proud nymphet named Veda. (Today, Veda would more likely be Linda or Karen.)

Veda and Veda's future are the mainspring of *Mildred Pierce*. Driven as much by the necessity of supporting Veda's talent as by the pressure of saving her threatened house, Mildred bakes at night even as she is waiting table by day. The time comes when, with a little help from her friends, she can set herself up in a restaurant of her own, the epitome of those California restaurants with a single specialty (in this case, chicken), and with home-baked pies displayed near the cashier. Mildred is not only a good cook but she also has a head for money. As she prospers, Veda is sent to the best piano teacher in the city and Mildred's house acquires a grand piano. Mildred herself, who is no loose woman but who knows the pleasures and uses of sex, becomes involved with Monty Beragon, a scion of a great family whose money goes back to the days of the Spanish rule.

When Veda becomes Monty's protégée, there is a painful struggle between the values of Glendale and the values of Pasadena. Mildred's restaurant becomes a chain of restaurants, but even as Veda turns into the archetype of the golden California maiden—slender legs and hips, and a high-arching, well-endowed chest—she also becomes impossibly difficult. Mildred is completely rejected by her

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daughter. It then appears that even her ambitions for Veda were an illusion, for a new teacher tells her the truth about Veda's talent. Veda, who has no illusions herself, comments coolly, "You start out a Wunderkind, then find out you're just a goddamn punk."

So far, *Mildred Pierce* is a realistic work of fiction; except for the texture of the prose and the cold, clear eye of the author, it has little surface resemblance to the other two books. At this point, however, the master of massive irony takes over and the plot begins to spin like a pinwheel. Veda, it turns out, may be only a punk as a pianist, but as a coloratura she is a wonder, who quickly finds her way to the Hollywood Bowl, providing her estranged but grateful mother with the climactic experience of her life. But Mildred, who has married Monty after the House of Beragon came apart in the crash, has been spending unwisely, secretly drawing off money from her corporation in order to keep up the Pasadena mansion she had bought from the Beragons. Mildred's bookkeeper becomes suspicious. Mildred begins to drink. Monty makes love to Veda. Catching the guilty pair *in flagrante delicto*, Mildred tries to strangle Veda. Veda, stark-naked, tries to sing. A caterwauling comes out. Mildred has destroyed "the beautiful thing that she loved most in the world."

But no. Veda, quicker thinking even than Mildred, has only pretended to lose her voice in order to escape from an unwanted and burdensome contract that is keeping her in Los Angeles. Once free, she departs, with Monty, for New York where she will sing on the radio for $2,500 a week. Her business empire taken over by her creditors, Mildred moves back to the house in Glendale, without a job and remarried to her original husband.

The book ends with her husband saying, "Come on, we got each other, haven't we? Let's get stinko."

Mildred answers, "Yes—let's get stinko."

It would be easy to dismiss *Mildred Pierce* as a promising serious novel gone wrong when its author could no longer resist the impulse to fall back into the tricky ways of his thrillers. don't think this is true. It *is* a serious novel, and its melodrama is the melodrama of California itself, the state of Aimee Semple McPherson and Sirhan Sirhan, of Death Valley Scotty and Marilyn Monroe. It is a melodrama of great dreams and great disasters. In California terms, Cain's *Mildred Pierce* still rings true.

In his slim book about California writers, *The Boys in the Back Room*, Edmund Wilson wrote about *The Postman* and *Serenade* that ". . . even here brilliant moments of insight redeemed the unconscious burlesque; and there is enough of the real poet in Cain—both in writing and in imagination—to make one hope for something better than either." I don't know what Mr. Wilson thought about *Mildred Pierce*, but for my money it is that "something better" for which he was hoping.

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Obsessive Artisan

MAIGRET IN VICHY. *By Georges Simenon. Translated by Eileen Ellenbogen. Harcourt, Brace & World. 177 pp. $3.95.*

THE PRISON. *By Georges Simenon. Translated by Lyn Moir. Harcourt, Brace & World. 182 pp. $4.95.*

SIMENON IN COURT. *By John Raymond. Harcourt, Brace & World. 178 pp. $5.95.*

MAX BYRD

Mr. Byrd teaches English at Harvard. He is a former editor of The Harvard Crimson.

Simenon's unbelievable productivity—more than 500 books so far—does not sit well with that side of our puritanism that distrusts abundance. In slightly more time than it takes Detroit to build a car Simenon hammers out a novel; and such apparent absence of pain and labor, such *breeziness*, seems to promise careless workmanship and a certain mediocre sameness, unsafe or unsubstantial at any speed. Yet the fact is, as Gide and other critics have long argued, Simenon is an artist, one of the 20th-century novelists already likely to endure.

Most Americans will have another reason besides productivity to question such a claim. For Simenon is low-brow as well as prolific, best-known here—perhaps everywhere—for his detective stories; and in our minds Inspector Maigret sinks easily with Holmes and Nero Wolfe to the level of mere entertainment. This too is unfair (and maybe puritanical). Satisfying though he is as a cult hero Maigret differs fundamentally from his peers. Far from being a French *force de frappe* in detection, designed to counter British and American threats, Maigret turns out in the end to be another kind of detective, indeed hardly a detective at all.

Unlike his rivals, for example, the inspector functions within the ordinary social order (how many other serious detectives are actually policemen?), a part of society rather than estranged from it. American sleuths always suffer their isolation. Hard-boiled and defensive, they are the very type of the rejected intellectual or artist, capable of saving a wayward world if only it will listen to them. Mark Twain (who wrote hundreds of detective stories) created the model for all the Phillip Marlowes to come in that strange novel of segregation, *Pudd'nhead Wilson*: when Pudd'nhead transfers guilt from the community to an individual, the town opens its arms to him.

Perhaps it is the difference between America and France, but Maigret, solitary in quite another way, has no bumbling officialdom as foil, no world to redeem and rejoin. *Maigret in Vichy*, number eighty or so in the series, presents him once again as a beloved public figure, the elder statesman of the Quai des Orfèvres. As always the puzzle of who did it is subordinated to the description of who did it, the suspense to the psychology. The plot characteristically revolves around Maigret's relationship first to the victim, then to the killer. And the famous "atmosphere," in this case a charming portrait of France's great spa, is still only setting, not (as so often in America) social criticism. Simenon once remarked that the difference between the Maigret books and his more serious novels is "exactly the same difference that exists between the painting of a painter and the sketch he will make for his pleasure or for his friends or to study something." Maigret, in other words, is a screen for Simenon. And the Maigret stories are not about a detective solving crimes but about a novelist writing novels.

One has only to recall Simenon's own celebrated working habits—his total immersion in the life of his characters, his concentration—to see how closely they approximate Maigret's. Maigret, in fact, has recounted his way with a case in terms one feels might equally suit his creator:

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> Then at a given moment, apparently without any reason, it all "began to rumble." The people concerned became at the same time vaguer and more human, in particular they became more complicated, and he had to be careful.
>
> In short, he was beginning to see them from the inside, groping, not sure of himself, with the feeling that it would only need another tiny effort for everything to be clear and for the truth to be revealed by itself.

Seeing people from the inside describes precisely what Simenon, in the self-forgetful absorption of the genuine artist, accomplishes. There cannot be many of his novels that do not trace in excruciating intimacy one character driven, as Simenon himself likes to say, to the limits of his endurance. The conclusion, whether Maigret's or Simenon's, is meant not to judge that person but morally to understand him.

The world of these novels, observes John Raymond in his sympathetic study, is nearly always solipsistic: "each of his tragic characters is imprisoned in his own solitude, vainly striving to break through the opaque cloud of unknowing and misunderstanding that separates all human beings." These are not the worlds of the familiar detective thriller, whose concern is mainly with someone's guilt or innocence. These are the worlds, in Clark Kerr's inelegant phrase, of the walking wounded, life's secret, self-afflicted patients. For if there is a single theme that runs (sometimes like Alph the sacred river) through Simenon's novels, it is obsession. Frank Friedmaier in *The Stain on the Snow*, Louis Cuchas in *The Little Saint*, the dying Premier, all of Maigret's criminals are variously obsessed—even Maigret is obsessed by his self-appointed role as "mender of destinies." And one cannot deny an element of compulsion in the author of half a thousand books.

The most recent of Simenon's nondetective fiction, *The Prison*, adds another, rather melodramatic twist to the theme. In his wife's *crime passionnel* a Parisian sophisticate dissects his own torturous drive for success and, at the dead limits of his endurance, grimly thwarts it. The protagonist, though repellent and contemptible, nevertheless deserves to stand beside Simenon's most formidable creations; like all of them he manages to still his own obsession, at a cost that must be seen as tragic. With the sparest and swiftest prose imaginable Simenon contrives somehow to give this character weight, dimension, body, as well as movement.

At the beginning of his career Colette advised him against being "literary," and Simenon has stubbornly obeyed her, axing mercilessly adjectives and effusions, saying proudly of a favorite book: "It's written as if by a child." He claims to write for no particular language (yet Gide admired his French) and once told an interviewer, "I am an artisan. I would like to carve my novels in wood." But he has a recognizable style of mind, indestructible even in translation. He seems to enter a book as one enters an empty room, and out of what Keats called his "teeming brain" miraculously he furnishes it. If he has strayed from the strict purview of the detective story, there is still mystery enough in such novels.

Power of the Mafia

THE GODFATHER. *By Mario Puzo. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 446 pp. $6.95.*

FRED J. COOK

Mr. Cook is the author of many special articles for The Nation. *His most recent books are* The Plot Against the Patient *and* What So Proudly We Hailed *(both Prentice-Hall).*

This seems to be the season for books about the Mafia. First, there was Peter Maas's highly publicized and overrated *The Valachi Papers*. Then there came Prof. Donald R. Cressey's solid and documented *Theft of the Nation*. And now, finally, in *The Godfather*, Mario Puzo has produced a fictional treatment of the same theme that, in impact, surpasses the others.

If anyone wants to know about the power of the Mafia—its ruthlessness, its immunity to prosecution—read *The Godfather*; Mario Puzo's brawling, irresistible tale brings the reality home more vividly and realistically than the drier stuff of fact ever can.

The Godfather is loaded with the kind of sexual scenes, plots and counterplots, murder and gore that seem to be requirements for a novel today. All of this might well have made it a work of cheap sensationalism, but *The Godfather* is deeply imbedded in reality, and this sense of reality pervades the torrent of unending action.

It could hardly be otherwise. Mario Puzo, as a boy, lived in Hell's Kitchen and, as he says, many of the incidents of the book are taken from real life in that gang-ridden area of New York. He has incorporated these incidents and other vividly imagined ones in a plot that is built around the character of one Mafia chief and his relationship to his "family" of retainers and to all of those who look to him for favors and protection. Threaded through the tale is a street-gamin awareness of the corruptions of American society that make the Mafia possible—and, indeed, inevitable.

Passage after passage contains this kind of insight, such as the one describing the psychology and temptations of the policeman. Puzo is talking about Tom Hagen, the counselor of the Mafia family of the godfather, Don Corleone:

> Hagen understood that the policeman believes in law and order in a curiously innocent way. He believes in it more than does the public he serves. Law and order is, after all, the magic from which he derives his power, individual power which he cherishes as nearly all men cherish individual power. And yet there is always the smoldering resentment against the public he serves. They are at the same time his ward and his prey. As wards they are ungrateful, abusive and demanding. As prey they are slippery and dangerous, full of guile. As soon as one is in the policeman's clutches the mechanism of the society the policeman defends marshals all its resources to cheat him of his prize. The fix is put in by politicians. Judges give lenient suspended sentences to the worst hoodlums. Governors of the States and the President of the United States himself give full pardons, assuming that respected lawyers have not already won his acquittal.

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After a time the cop learns. Why should he not collect the fees these hoodlums are paying? He needs it more. His children, why should they not go to college? Why shouldn't his wife shop in more expensive places? Why shouldn't he himself get the sun with a winter vacation in Florida? After all, he risks his life and that is no joke.

Don Corleone himself starts out as a humble Sicilian immigrant, honest, hard-working. Then a neighborhood tough, who has the protection of the precinct cops, boots him out of his job. He has a choice of seeing his family starve—or turning to crime. He pulls his first holdup; when the neighborhood tough tries to shake him down for a cut, he commits his first murder. Then he begins to build his own organization. As Don Corleone remarks, each man has only one destiny, and once his feet are set upon the road, he can only follow that destiny to the end.

Don Corleone's destiny was to become a Mafia chieftain, boss of one of the five ruling "families" of New York and a big olive oil importer. (Shades of the late Joseph Profaci?) In a curious way, the great Don becomes both predator and protector. Those who cannot get help or justice in the ordinary channels of society turn to him for favors and protection. The Don builds an empire that preys on a society that will not protect, a society whose rules and hypocrisy he scorns and whose corruption he makes work for him.

Written at a narrative pace that never flags *The Godfather* has some vivid and unforgettable scenes. One deals with a male singer, the heart throb of his generation, who has lost his voice and needs to make his comeback as an actor. He is denied the role he wants, one that is perfect for him, by a producer who hates him, and the wiliness and ruthlessness with which Don Corleone stretches out his long arm from his protected family mall at Long Beach to insure the future of his protégé brings the producer to his knees in a hair-raising denouement.

Women's Liberation

UP FROM THE PEDESTAL. *Edited, with an introduction by Aileen S. Kraditor. Quadrangle Books. 372 pp. $8.95.*

BORN FEMALE. *By Caroline Bird, with Sara Welles Briller. David McKay. 288 pp. $5.95.*

NANCY REEVES

Mrs. Reeves is a member of the bar in New York and California. She has written widely on the status of women.

The history of women is written in invisible ink. Dynamic change, however, serves as disclosing agent, magically restoring to the blank page part of a lost continuum. Adding distance, the transposed vision can even serve as a variant reading of the dilemmas of the present.

Here is the reason why two such different books, one a scholarly compendium of landmark writings from the history of feminism, the other a journalist's account of contemporary grievances, can be viewed in series. For the women then and the women now chronicle the same indignities across the chasm of a century. If they could bridge time and meet to talk, they would make instant contact. A hundred years since the beginning of the struggle for civil rights, fifty years since the attainment of suffrage, the significant questions remain the same. True, Freud has supplanted God as authority for the divine blueprint, but the directives that emerge from the past, and those that invest the present, are founded in the same assumptions.

In quite different language, as one reads first in one book, and then in the other, the same ideas form a contrapuntal design: the special pleading of biological determinism, of marginal work life, political exclusion, social subordination and auxiliary status. And, now, as then, overarching other issues is the question of autonomy. For, although, as Aileen Kraditor observes: "Most men, even today, when women are legally almost their equal, think of the women's rights movement as the demand by neurotic females to be like men. . ." the truth is that the "array of specific, formal rights has not added up to substantive equality and autonomy." It is not, therefore, she notes, that women seek to be like men; it is rather that self-determination has been labeled "For Men Only."

Dr. Kraditor prefaces the spirited writings that illuminate bygone controversies with a focusing essay that examines classical formulations through contemporary lenses. Of special interest is her point that behind the demand for autonomy has been the grievance that "women have been regarded not as people but as female relatives of people." By way of validation, I noted the following exchange in a symposium on "The Spectrum of Femininity," held as recently as 1963 at the University of California Medical Center:

> "So I come to our final question," said the chairman, "and I turn to each of the panelists to answer it. . . . What is a woman?"
>
> "I think she is a man's wife," said the first panelist.
>
> "Shall I follow that by saying she is also a man's mother?" asked the second panelist.
>
> "She is also a man's mistress," added the third panelist.

And Aileen Kraditor quotes the redoubtable Rev. Anna Howard Shaw:

> It has always seemed to me remarkable how clear the definitions of men are in regard to women, their duties, their privileges, their responsibilities, their relations to each other, to men, to government, and . . . to God. . . .

Caroline Bird's book reports effectively on some of the exclusions current today. Her play-by-play account of the struggle to add the word "sex" to the 1964 Civil Rights Bill offers an object lesson on the position of women in politics. She describes pungently some characteristic conversations with organizational men:

> An executive recruiter reports how the firm saved money by hiring a woman to serve as their chief financial officer at $9,000 a year. When she left, they had to pay $20,000 to get a man to do her job. When *he* left, they went back to a woman at $9,000 and they then replaced *her* with a man at $18,000. According to the recruiter, all four employees were good at the job.

Miss Bird also classifies perceptively, from The Old Masculinists like Sigmund Freud who "believe that woman's place is in the home; that her work is prescribed by her anatomy; and that she is mentally and physically unable to do man's work"; to The New Masculinists, like David Riesman, who believe woman's place is where the men around her need it to be from moment to moment. In this view, the nature of the task doesn't matter. Woman "may shoot a gun or drive a truck or serve out a husband's unexpired term in the legislature —providing only that she does it in the name of somebody else and not for the greater glory of herself." In this category, she also includes a subgroup of The New Masculinists, the high-minded, who adopt the "enlightened" separate but equal approach: "that women have a characteristic intellectual style—that they see things that men do not see, and that the problem is not to make them more like men, but to train men to understand the contribution women have always made." And finally she marks out the arguments of The Old Feminists whose theme song is "Anything you can do, I can do bet-

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ter," and of The New Feminists who "think sex roles are obsolete at work . . . (seeing) no use in ascribing special advantages or handicaps to women in most jobs."

But ideas are born and multiply in the enveloping element; forms of thought occur in and are affected by a specific matrix. Caroline Bird, like most writers on woman's place, tends to assume a constant universe, with the single variable of woman's position there. The proposals she advances were progressive when feminism was young. For time is a dynamic dimension and conditions then and conditions now do not add up to simple equivalence. To focus on marketplace activity as the touchstone of liberation at the height of the Industrial Revolution is not at all the same thing as to do so in the era of cybernation. Underlying expert controversy on how many people will find themselves redundant with the advance of computer technology, there is the unspoken consensus that current change implies a net loss in labor-force requirements. It is unwarranted simplification to deal with the position of women abstracted from structural revolution, to imagine that the emancipation of women can be realized apart from economic and political levers.

As a social historian, Aileen Kraditor does consider woman's place in relation to structural context. In her rapid summary of the rise of feminism, she associates the quality of that militancy with other effects of the Industrial Revolution, and suggests a vital link between kinship patterns and the status of the second sex:

> Obviously the inferior position of women was somehow associated with the isolation of each family from every other family and with the sex-determined division of labor within the family. . . .
>
> . . . inequality of the sexes still exists because the family structure has remained basically unchanged.

Yet, in the end she does not tie these insights together. Rather, she concludes with emphasis on the individual: "Unless a middle-class feminist is prepared to challenge that family structure head-on . . ." contemporary effort will take a generalized course.

But, in terms of the modern temper, the decision to renounce her place in the home (where presently two-thirds of America's female population still find themselves) or to upgrade her status in the labor reserve (where presently one-third of America's women perform marginal tasks) is not within the power of the individual. The human unit confronts a social phenomenon, not a personal dilemma. To understand the range of possibilities available to the private person, we are required to study not only role and not only milieu but also the intricate social rafters from which they are suspended.

An offhand remark of a young economist may suggest the significance of this vantage:

> What are you feminists after? We can't even absorb the Blacks, not to speak of 60 million family women suddenly liberated into the labor market!

Caroline Bird, thinking in terms of human potential, points to the social cost of keeping women down. But there is also the social context that offers a different account rendered. The domestic orbit in an irrational society, if nothing else is changed, may be a structural imperative, even if it can be proved to be an imbecile life style. Exposure is interesting, but it is no substitute for analysis.

Rather than explain something as a persistence from the past, we ought to ask, counsels C. Wright Mills, why it has persisted. Contemporary features of a society must be examined in terms of contemporary function. Since women are not an exotic epiphenomenon, their outside position may have structural relevance; their inside position may require us to clear the ground for new beginnings. Unless writers tackle the rich thicket of reality, the present as history will also be written in invisible ink.

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

The centennial exhibit at the Museum of Natural History (Central Park West at 79 Street) is a model of immersive exhibition design. Its subject is just right for environmental staging; it is dramatizable and topical: "Can Man Survive?" The exhibit is suspended from a space frame inside one of the museum's Imperial Roman-style galleries and looks like a big metal knot. You go up a ramp and, leaving the museum behind, enter a carpeted tunnel, unlike the stony floors outside, dimly lit, and the enclosed space harbors sounds unlike those of the hall outside: bird songs, water sounds. From now on you are insulated from external noise.

The argument is in two main areas, linked by a connecting passage. In the first area, wall and ceiling flow together in a dim space where two side-by-side films continuously show dawn and water and birds and photomicrographic shots of live cells. The floor is comfortable and you can enjoy the images of balanced nature. You move on to a section on man as symbol user (in glowing ultraviolet-sensitive paint) and on technology of a moderate scale, plowshares not swords. This leads into the second display area where the décor bulges and juts to symbolize a new lack of balance in the world as an eco-system. The causes are population expansion and the garbage explosion, stated by jumpy movies, harsh music and grim statistics. Finally, down another ramp and out, like leaving a transport plane under the tail.

The show is arranged like the Ghost Train at a carnival: darkness and hectic changes of direction expand a small plot of ground into a scary and irrationally stretched space. The designers of "Can Man Survive?," Dimensional Communications, Inc., have established a space devoted to ambulatory argument; body movement around the show is equated with shifts of meaning. This technique usually reduces arguments to a pretty gross form, but the scenario here remains sophisticated. In the balance-of-nature bit, one sees nature "red in tooth and claw," not falsely idyllic. The animals munch one another up, but it's a balanced ecology. The linking section gives full credit to communication systems and technological invention before (the point of the show) attacking their proliferation and abuse. It is a finale full of "hustling and bustling . . . in the space between birth and death," as Donovan puts it.

The self-contained form of the show, completely insulated from a containing or background space, as well as its control of spatial and sensory cues, works admirably. It should; it cost $650,000 (and will run for two years). A tribute to the designers are the high school kids who feign freaking out, especially in the last shadowy, dark red chamber on the way out. The man who supplied the sound track is quoted in *The New York Times* as saying of the spectators: "We

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want them emotionally engaged." According to the *Times*, the designer of the show, Joseph Wetzel, said that "the museum has never made a statement about a contemporary problem before.... They've always looked backward. That's a very safe thing to do." Given the present taste in New York for engaged exhibitions (for instance, at the Metropolitan, "Harlem on my Mind") we might consider the source of such exhibitions, even though they lie in the safe old past.

One of the clichés of modernist museography is that only souped-up shows can compete with the thrust of the media outside the marble halls. My own belief is that an exhibition program up to date in ideas, like the "Florentine Baroque Art" exhibition at the Metropolitan, or up to date in the actual works shown, such as "Anti-Illusion: Procedures/Materials" at the Whitney, are the ways to make a museum active. However, it is not as simple as that. The best-known proponent of the modernized museum is Alexander Dorner and his best-known book, largely on the subject, is *The Way Beyond 'Art.'* Typical is his assertion that only "a practical, sensory representation of art-historic evolution" will enable a museum to serve as "a positive force in the nexus of public life."

What "practical" has come to mean may be seen by reference to the Metropolitan's "Harlem on my Mind," a disastrous documentary. What about "sensory?" When Dorner was director of the Hanover Museum in the 1920s, he invited El Lissitzky to install a gallery of Abstract art. The paintings, by Mondrian, by Moholy Nagy, were hung high and low on walls made of laths painted black, white and gray: the color changed according to the angle at which the wall was viewed. That's "sensory" for you. "The inner mobility of Abstract composition has dismissed the picture frame," Dorner explained as he wiped out, or hoped to, the concept of a gallery as a "static scaffolding."

Dorner's design techniques, like the Bauhaus in this respect, are a codification of Futurist theatre (which exploded formal boundaries) and the then new art of window dressing and store display. The function of museum presentation was to make the "new reality act upon the senses," as if the visual sense and the intelligence were not acted on by painting and sculpture. There have been two developments from the position as formulated in the twenties. Modernity as groovy show has thrived in commercial and industrial exhibition design and this is the direction in which El Lissitzky himself developed. In aesthetics, the swinging décor theory, although it has achieved occasional Mickey Mouse triumphs, survives mainly as a kind of covert, anti-museum sentiment. It suggests that museums which *collect* and *keep* things are obsessed by the past. Despite Wetzel's public relations work on his exhibit, the entertainment of "Can Man Survive?" is not antagonistic to the other functions of the museum and it is ungrateful, as well as idiotic, to suggest that the rest of the time the Natural History Museum is playing it safe.

Sir Herbert Read, introducing a new book on El Lissitzky by his widow (New York Graphic Society, $30) suggests him as a precursor "of much that has been given the name of 'environmental' art." The connections remain to be demonstrated, but I have a feeling that the ideological difference between El Lissitzky and later artists is too great for occasional parallels to mean much. Similarly with Dorner's museography: his continual harangue against the "static," and the pedantic form of his affirmation of the "transforming process," lead not to museum operations but straight to Marshall McLuhan (who lists Dorner's book in the "further readings for media study" section of *Understanding Media*). Dorner's drama of the reformed museum versus the mauseum or musoleum is rhetorically very like McLuhan's agon of linear and mosaic cultures clashing. Both men propose antitheses where none exist and then lure their readers into lining up with the group labeled "modern" and "creative." In exhibition design, as in McLuhan, the novelties are insubstantial. The psychedelic color effects in "Can We Survive?" for instance, derive from postwar European graphics updated by the Art Nouveau revival. Such pageants are welcome; their momentary impacts a pleasure, an addition, but not a successor, to the main line of museum operations.

FILMS / Robert Hatch

For all its raunchy detail and sardonic manner, John Schlesinger's *Midnight Cowboy* (from a novel by James Leo Herlihy) is as sentimental a view of life as Chaplin's *The Kid*. And for all its often excellent documentation of the acid look of New York's main streets and America's main highways, it is as whimsical as Harold Lloyd in *Safety Last*. I have no strong objection to tears and make-believe on behalf of family entertainment, but what we are dealing with here is male prostitution in quite explicit terms, and the attempt to wring tender laughter from such a topic strikes me as being itself a kind of commercialized vice.

Put it another way: should we sympathize with a Broadway cowboy hustler who jams a telephone receiver into the bloody and broken-toothed mouth of his middle-aged homosexual client because he must brutalize the poor man into giving him enough money to take a sick pal to Florida? It is a ticklish question and one that should not, perhaps, be raised in an essentially frivolous picture.

Joe Buck (Jon Voight) is a dishwasher in flight from a Texas hash joint. He has come to New York to exploit his only talent, which is priapic. Flash-backs suggest that he lived a lonely childhood with an oversexed grandmother, became a formidable local seducer, was manhandled by the police and a rape gang; but in the present he is another of those wide-eyed Dick Whittingtons who think the big city awaits their charms. With the exception of the above detailed scene, he is taken when he expects to take.

Rico, alias Ratso (Dustin Hoffman), is a crippled Italian con man from the Bronx, whose criminal talents extend no further than rifling overcoats at a party and pilfering light meals off vegetable stands; understandably, he is unwashed, unhealthy and camping out in a condemned apartment house.

These two metropolitan outcasts are eaten by the loneliness that used to torture O. Henry's heroes. Each recognized the appealing vulnerability of the other; they take in each other's misery, you might say, and in the end Ratso dies in Joe Buck's arms on that Florida bus ride into the sunset. Two hearts of gold in the lower depths is almost redundant.

Hoffman and Voight are talented men who turn in spectacular performances that I suspect are bad for their talents. That is, they are given such extravagant trappings of character that they can be melodramatically fascinating on the surface, like some of those species of horned and tasseled caterpillars, and need not—indeed, probably cannot in this environment—project any content from within. Their parts are fabrications rather than creations, and this must induce a shallowness of approach that could in the long run corrupt them.

The whole film, so rigorously perfectionist for venal ends, so moistly indulgent and picturesquely amoral, is corruptive. But it is also blatantly synthetic to the point that it could scarcely corrupt a spectator; only the excellent performers (for the two leads are ably supported) might complain that they are being abused for profit.

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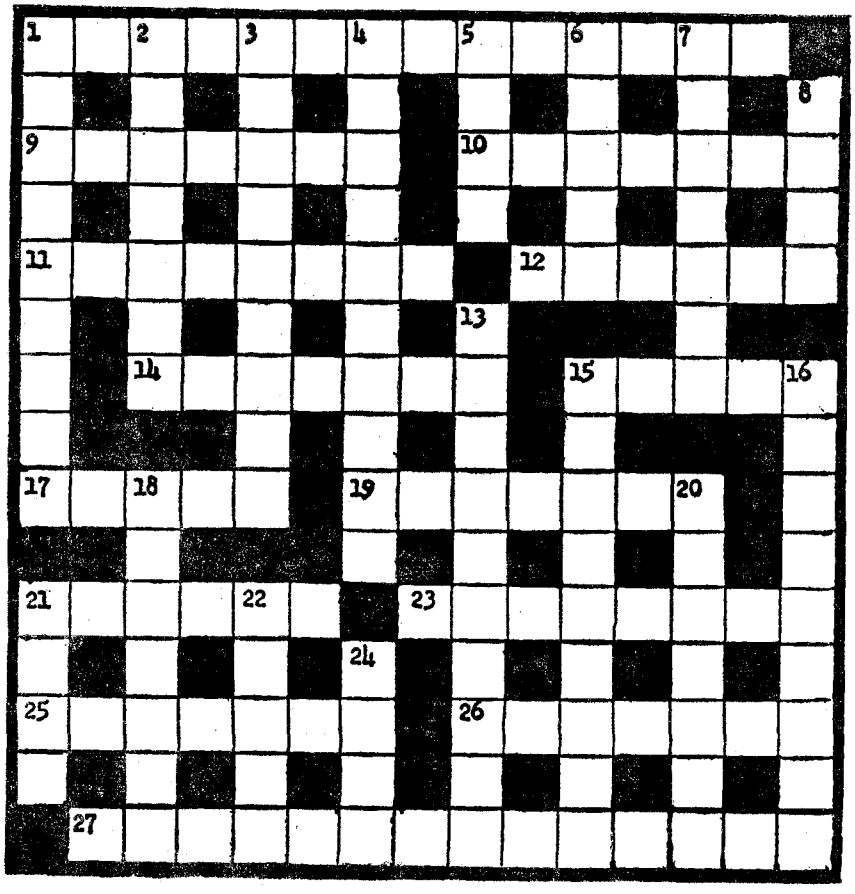
Crossword Puzzle No. 1302

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The rest of what the car buyer might make is hopefully favorable. (7,2,5)
9 "And, O you mortal ———, whose rude throats
The immortal Jove's dread clamours counterfeit, Farewell!" *Othello* (7)
10 One should be able to find such a picture still (7)
11 and 23 Counterfeit medals? One traditionally needs help. (6,2,8)
12 What one does when fixing to go? (6)
14 Two heavy beats. (No speed out of it, though.) (7)
15 Port ends, when put together. (5)
17 Didn't make a right turn, possibly. (5)
19 The political philosophy of their country was left, probably. (7)
21 Unable, alternately, to lead the singing. (6)
23 See 11 across
25 Solitary before a little bit? (7)
26 When called in are put in order. (7)
27 Makes even the best run last, in a way. (5,3,6)

DOWN

1 Joined in depression to include rolls, etc. (5,4)
2 They include such things as pulse. (7)
3 An occasional expression? (5,4)
4 Where they can always get the inside seat exchanged? (4,6)
5 Adjusts to sudden attacks. (4)
6 Polish the French silver—it's worth something. (5)
7 A conservative is not necessarily an easy-liver, however. (3-4)
8 Dialectal pronunciation associated with Aaron, perhaps. (4)
13 I got all fired up in the discussion, certainly not to strengthen the cause. (10)
15 Gondolier country? (9)
16 Penelope, even though she was married, might typify them. (9)
18 Sort of under oath, without beginning the poem. (7)
20 Certainly not related to the backbone of the eastern alliance! (7)
21 The gang is kind of cut! (4)
22 Plant, one of those known by the cognoscente. (5)
24 A propensity for grass (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1301

ACROSS: 1 Geographic; 6 User; 10 Nightly; 11 Teleost; 12 Mandrake; 15 Audit; 17 Tete-a-tete; 19 Apple tree; 21 Delhi; 23 Indri; 24 enclaves; 27 Alleges; 29 Easy; 30 Flashlight. DOWN: 1 and 3 Generated; 2 On guard; 4 Paymaster; 5 and 13 In the works; 7 Scourge; 8 Rotisserie; 9 Blowhard; 14 Palatinate; 16 and 28 The King's English; 18 Trenchers; 20 Paddles; 22 Leering; 24 Easel; 25 Angel; 26 Chat.

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